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A SECOND-CENTURY TREATISE ON EGYPTIAN PRIESTS AND TEMPLES[1]

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IN return for contributions to aid in excavations at Oxyrhynchus in the 1920's Sir Flinders Petrie sent to Washington University, St. Louis, several hundred papyri, very fragmentary for the most part, and ranging in date from the second century B.C. to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Following the death of Professor Frank Debatin of that university who had done some preliminary work on the collection, permission was given me to publish it. Many of the pieces had never been cleaned and remained creased and covered with dirt, evidently in the condition in which they had been found. After the collection had been cleaned, photographed and examined the five fragments that make up the present text seemed to be by far the most interesting and the most important of the lot.[2] Though no continuous text was provided, their religious content was apparent from such words as προφήτης, ἱερόν, ἱερεύς and μυστηριασθῆναι.

Two fragments were immediately found to be contiguous but it was left to the acumen of Youtie to determine the relative positions of the other three. What at first appeared to be a margin on two fragments was the juncture of two sheets that had become separated. This discovery on his part added much to the continuity of the text of both recto and verso.

[1] This papyrus, consisting of five fragments, is catalogued as Inventory No. 138 in the Washington University collection and is to be designated as P. Wash. U. Inv. 138. It measures approximately 18.6 cm. x 20.0 cm., is of good quality and light brown in color except for occasional stains. On the whole the verso is somewhat darker than the recto. The outer margin of both recto and verso is 2 cm. at the widest point. The bottom margin of the recto at its widest point is 1.7 cm., that of the verso 2.2 cm.

[2] I am greatly indebted to Professor Phillip De Lacy for twice sending me the fragments, though mounted between glass, for study in Bloomington. This generosity on his part has made it possible to work on the original with all facilities at hand.

Despite the lack of a continuous text, recto col. ii. 6–13 may be completed with almost absolute certainty. In this instance the remaining letters of a word with which one line begins permit the preceding line to be restored in only one way, and at the same time allow the length of line to be established. Line 13 begins with *-χαιραν*, which, according to the Heidelberger Konträrindex, can only be the final letters of *μάχαιραν*.[3] This gives 30 letters as the length of line 12. With that as a starting point lines 6–13 may be completed, and give, in part at least, what must have been the oath taken by a man before entering upon one of the Egyptian priesthoods — a series of promises, here emphasized by the use of *οὐ μή* with the aorist subjunctive, ending with *ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ θανάτ[ου μου]*.[4]

The recto as a whole is concerned with regulations governing priests, the verso, with regulations affecting the temple and possibly sacred animals or sacrificial victims. Two classes of priests seem to be discussed. Immediately following the mention of a *προφήτης*[5] (recto col. ii. 5) are promises, extending through seven lines, not to do certain specified things. On recto col. i. 15 *δεύτεροι ἱερεῖς* are mentioned. Thereafter (lines 17–19) comes a series of promises followed by the statement (lines 20–23) that certain things have not been done. The relative brevity of this section together with the words *δεύτεροι ἱερεῖς* indicates that a lower class of priests is under discussion.

The work as a whole may have been divided into sections, since verso col. ii is so divided (plate 2). Not only do lines 7, 11 and 19 begin farther to the left than the other lines but line 19 is separated from line 18 by a horizontal stroke which extends from beyond the half-way point of the margin above the first five letters of line 19. Also, line 6 is not a full line.

Although this Washington University papyrus and the Gnomon

[3] Gradenwitz, Heidelberger Konträrindex der griechischen Papyrusurkunden (Berlin, 1931).

Kretschmer, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache (Göttingen, 1944), lists in addition *ἐγγαστριμάχαιρα*, *δρεπανομάχαιρα*, *ξιφομάχαιρα*.

[4] Three bits of evidence indicate that Egyptian religion is the principal if not the sole subject matter of these fragments: the mention of a *προφήτης* (recto col. ii. 5) an *ἱερογραμματεύς* (verso col. ii. 7, 19), and the promise not to engage in any manual labor, denoted in this instance by specific acts (recto col. ii. 9–10).

[5] The *προφήτης* was next in rank to the *ἀρχιερεύς* in Egyptian temples. See Otto, Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten (Berlin, 1905), 1. 75, 82.

des Idios Logos are of an entirely different nature, they do have two elements in common, date of composition and, to a limited extent, subject matter. Both were written in the middle of the second century and both are concerned in part with the priesthood and certain limitations placed upon it. But, curiously, they differ on one point. In the Gnomon sums are stated in drachmas whereas in the present papyrus (verso col. ii. 18) the one sum stated is in denarii.

The exact scope and purpose of the complete papyrus cannot be determined. The fact that the vocabulary of the part preserved includes προφήτης (recto col. ii. 5) and ἱερογραμματεύς (verso col. ii. 19) limits its contents to Egyptian religion. Since this is true of the verso as well as the recto, one must assume that that part of the recto which followed the present text and all the verso which preceded the present text was of similar nature. We must also conclude that the writer was thoroughly conversant with temple rules and regulations in that he could include formal oaths in his treatise. Furthermore, since oaths in the temples of Egyptian divinities must have been expressed in the native language, a knowledge of Greek and Egyptian on his part may be taken for granted. With some reasonableness we might also say that the work was intended for the use of a Roman inasmuch as the one sum of money mentioned is in denarii.

Whether the text is applicable to Egyptian religion as a whole or is limited to one area cannot be decided with certainty. An argument for the latter is to be found in verso col. ii. 10, ἀνὰ μέσον πόλε[ως]. In this case the πόλις would be Oxyrhynchus which was always designated as a city, never a village. In addition we know that it had three temples of sufficient size to warrant guards: a temple of Serapis with six guards, a temple of Isis with one, and a temple of Thoeris with seven.[6]

Palaeography

Examination of the writing of the recto and verso, apart from showing the use of two different pens, indicates that each was the work of a different individual. This is evident both when total

[6] J. G. Milne, A History of Egypt Under Roman Rule (London, 1924), 235.

appearance and details are considered. The writer of the recto never slips into a cursive hand, maintaining throughout a script which approximates in regularity and excellence of letter a fine book-hand. The cursive tendency evident on the verso is best exemplified by *καί*, col. ii. 18, and *ὁμοίως*, col. i. 11, *-μοιως* of the latter being made without lifting the pen (see plate 2).

Another distinguishing feature is the formation of the letter *α*. On the verso it seems to be made consistently without lifting the pen. On the recto, the oblique line forming the right side of the letter is frequently made as a separate stroke, most obvious in *ἀγνεύονσι*, col. i. 8 (see plate 1), but discernible in many other instances.

One characteristic the two scribes have in common — initial iota has the mark of diaeresis above it.

The date to be assigned to the fragments is definitely the middle of the second century A.D. The forms of two letters in particular, *β* and *μ*, permit such positive dating. The base of *β* is a separate horizontal stroke resting on the line. The upper half of the letter has not yet begun to project at an angle upward to the right, a characteristic beginning to be noticeable in the third quarter of the century. Both sides of *μ* have about the same angle of slope and the bow of the center stroke is approximately half way between the two sides. From the middle of the century on this tends to move farther to the right with a lengthening of the left side of the letter.

In general appearance the writing of the recto bears close resemblance to that of the Gnomon, also dated in the middle of the second century.

Text

Recto — Col. i

]·[.....]..*βιβλιδ*[*ι*
]*με̄* *γείνονται α*[
κ]*ατὰ ἱερὸν εἰς ὃ* [.].*να*[
]*ν ἴσην ἐκείναις τ*[*αῖς*
5.]*δὲ τοὺς σεμνοὺς τ*[

]ἀποδόχια ὅσα διασ[
]ν $\overline{\beta}$ ἀμνοῦ οἱ καὶ τ[
]ἀγνεύουσι πρὸς το[
]αν νόμιμα οἱ δὲ μὴ ἁ[γνεύοντες
]μηνα αὐτῶν λούονται ἐν τῷ [ἱερῷ
]τουσι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὐκ ἐξέρχο[νται
]δεῖ μυστηριασθῆναι τοὺς [
]ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς το[
]. ειν ἀνανκάζονται ὁμόσαι
]ω εἰς ὃ ο[ἱ] δεύτεροι ἱερεῖς
]παρόντων τῶν πρωτο-
στολιστῶν π]ρὸς μαρτυρίαν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω
]τιν ἱερεῦσι· [ο]ὐ μὴ τέμω ἐν ταῖς
]εν οὐδὲ ο[ὐ] ⟨μὴ⟩ τάξω ἄλλῳ ἀφ᾽οὗ
]λαι οὐκ ἀφείρηκα κεφαλὴν ζώου
]υκα ἄνθρωπον· οὐ δέδηχα ..[
ἄ]νθρωπ[ο]ν· οὐ μέμιγμαι .[
οὐ μ]έμιγμα· μετὰ ἁγ[νείας

Recto — Col. ii

.ζ[.]αδω[
αὐτῷ εἰπ[.....].κρ..[
ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἱ[ερῷ ὁ-]
μοῦ παρακούσῃ συμβουλίας ερ[
προφήτῃ καὶ ἃ τειμωρήσηται αὐτὸ[ν
ἀδίκημα. οὐ μὴ φάγω οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ π[ίω τὰ ἀθέ-]
μιτα οὐδὲ ὅσα [γέ]γραπται ἐν τοῖς βι[βλίοις·]
οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ κολλήσω τοὺς δακτύλου[ς τούτοις·]
οὐ ⟨μὴ⟩ μετρήσω μέτρον ἐφ᾽ ἄλῳ· οὐ μ[ὴ ἄρω ἐν]

τῇ χειρὶ ζυγόν· οὐ μὴ μετρήσω γ[ήν· οὐ μὴ ἐ-]
πέλθω εἰς τόπον ἀκάθαρτον· οὐ μ[ὴ θίγω]
τριχὸς προβάτου· οὐ μὴ κατάσχω τὴ[ν μά-]
χαιραν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ θανάτ[ου μου.]
κατὰ ⟨τα⟩ὐτὸ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα γράφεται ἐν[
λαμβ[άν]ων ἀν[α]γεινώσκει μέγα [
πρὸς [μαρτυρίαν ...]ου πνε[

Verso — Col. i

Second Hand

]αθη
]..εἰς τ[ὴ]ν τ[ά]ξιν αὐτοῦ
]τι τιμωρεῖται ὅτι .υ
]εις τὸν βασιλέα. ἄλλο
ἀμ]φοτέρων τῶν μερῶν γραμ-
[ματ]κει κραυγάγει ἐν [ἱ]ερῷ. ἐὰν
]εις ὄργιλος ᾖ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μητ-
]ἄλλος νόμος· ἐὰν πάσης
]ως τις λάβῃ ἐν ἱερῷ ἢ χρυ-
[σᾶ ἢ ἀργυρᾶ .....].η ἐκ πάντων τῶν σκευ-
[ῶν]ος βασιλέως ὁμοίως καὶ χω-
].ως φονεύεται καὶ κατακαίε-
[ται]ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ σῶμ[α
].. βεβληκ[

Verso — Col. ii

].ρ.[
]ω ὅθεν τῶν π[
εὐσε]βεια τῶν θεῶ[ν

]βοης ἐκ βορρᾶ[
]ω ξυλινῷ ἐπὶ τὸ .ι[
]λος ποιήσῃ. [
δ[ιὰ τῶν ἱερο]γραμματέων ἢ .υ[
]ρον ζώων ἐκβοών[των
]..των πρ[ὸ]ς τὰ γεγρ[α]μμ[ένα
]ζεται ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς πόλε[ως
κα[. . . . .]να δουλεύουσιν εἰς τ[ὸ] βασιλι[κὸν
ὁ μόσχ[ο]ς εὐώδης καὶ φάγων[
σιν παντὶ μόρῳ τειμωρεῖται[
της ὦσιν ἀποθάνωσιν δεῖ ἕτερ[
καὶ τέμνουσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν [ῥῖνα
ται δὲ ἐν φυλακῇ γειν[ό]μενος ἐὰ[ν ἐ-]
ξ αὐτοῦ τούτου ὄντος εὐώδους δει[
σ̄ καὶ ἐκπράσσεται (δηνάρια)Ἀ. ἐὰν δ[ὲ
ζῶον καὶ [κ]αθαρὸς ὁ ἱερο[γ]ραμματεὺ[ς
ται [ἀ]παι[τε]ῖται τὸ διπλοῦν [..].[

Commentary

Recto — Col. i

1. *βιβλιδ*[*ι*: Possibly written by a hand other than the one which wrote the rest of the recto.

2. The space between the numeral $\overline{με}$ and *γείνονται* may indicate the beginning of another section. Cf. verso col. i. 4; ii. 6. See plates 1 and 2.

3. Following *εἰς ὃ* [.] are traces of ink forming an angle which best suits the lower part of *β* or *δ*.

5. See below on line 22.

8. *ἀγνεύουσι πρός*: See below on line 22.

10.]*μηνα*: Although *α* is in lacuna on plate 1 a tiny fragment containing it was still attached when the papyrus was first examined.

λούονται: Cf. Porphyrios, de Abs. 4. 7; Apuleius, Met. 11. 23; Herod. 2. 37.

12. *μυστηριασθῆναι*: As far as I can determine this is the earliest occurrence of the word. Cf. Apuleius, Met. 11. 21, "petens ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret."

15. *οἱ δεύτεροι ἱερεῖς*: This seems to be the first instance of a definite classification of priests as *πρῶτοι* and *δεύτεροι* although the decree of Canopus 3–4 suggests that there was such. Cf. Otto, Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten I. 75 ff.

16–17. According to Preisigke, Wörterbuch (III. 383), the only priestly title in *πρωτο* is *πρωτοστολιστής*. Several priests of this rank might be serving in the same temple at the same time. See Otto, op. cit., I. 86.

17. Cf. recto col. ii. 6–7.

18. Paul Alexander suggests [*ἃ οὐκ ἔξεσ*]*τιν*.

18–19. Perhaps *ἐν ταῖς* [*ἁγνείαις*]. Cf. Porph., de Abs. 4. 6.

19. *ἀφ'οὗ*: "from the time that" if a period is placed after *ἄλλῳ*.

20. *ἀφείρηκα*: for *ἀφῄρηκα*. See Mayser, Grammatik, I. 387. On cutting off the head of an animal see Herod. 2. 39; Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 31.

21. *δέδηχα*: If this is taken as the perfect of *δάκνω* the meaning can only be "I have not bitten." Offhand, such a statement appears out of place since the context seems to demand *ἄνθρωπον* as the object. It might better be considered the perfect of *δέω* (see Mayser, Gramm. I. 373) governing *ἄνθρωπον* in lacuna. This would permit]*υκα* to be restored as *λέλ*]*υκα*. The line would then read "I have not loosed a man, I have not bound a man."

22–23. On the limited associations of the priests Porphyry states (de Abs. 4. 6) "*τῆς ἐπιμιξίας κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς συντελουμένης μόνον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σχεδὸν ἀβάτων ὄντων τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ἱερῶν· ἁγνεύσαντας γὰρ ἔδει προσιέναι καὶ πολλῶν ἀποσχομένους . . . σεμνοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς παρεῖχεν καὶ τὸ δυσεπίμικτον, οἵ γε παρὰ μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν λεγομένων ἁγνειῶν τὸν καιρὸν οὐδὲ τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις καὶ ὁμοφύλοις ἐπεμίγνυντο . . . τῶν δὲ ἐξωτικῶν τῆς θρησκείας οὐδενὶ συνεβίουν*· (4.7) *ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος, ὅποτε συντελεῖν τι τῶν περὶ τὴν*

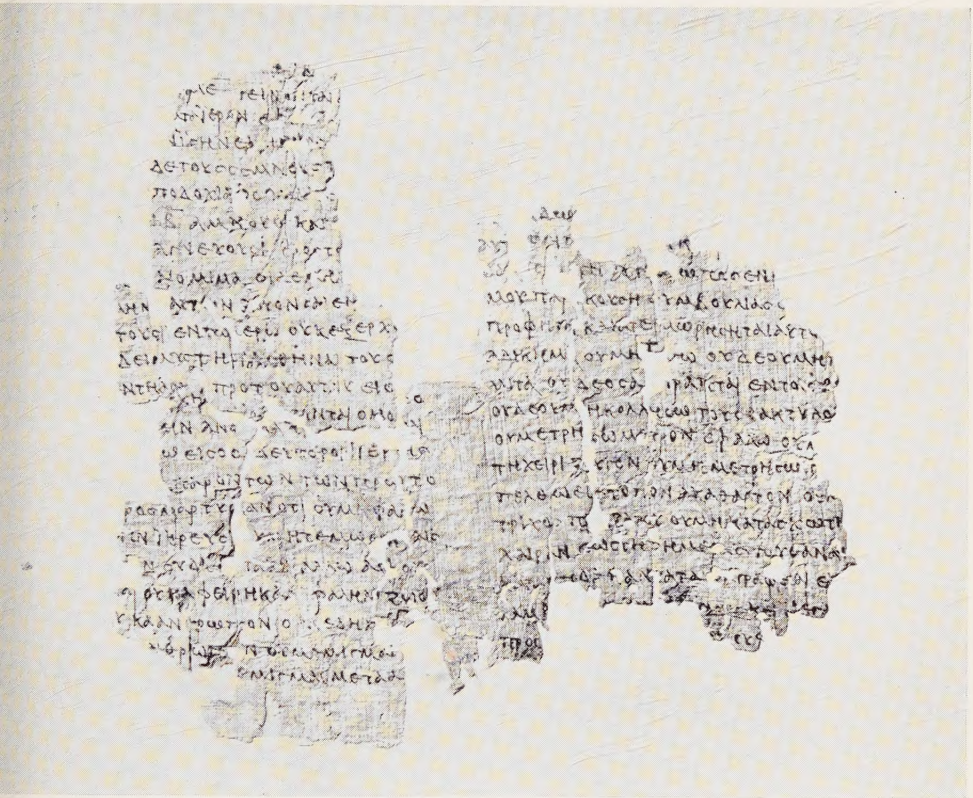

Plate 1

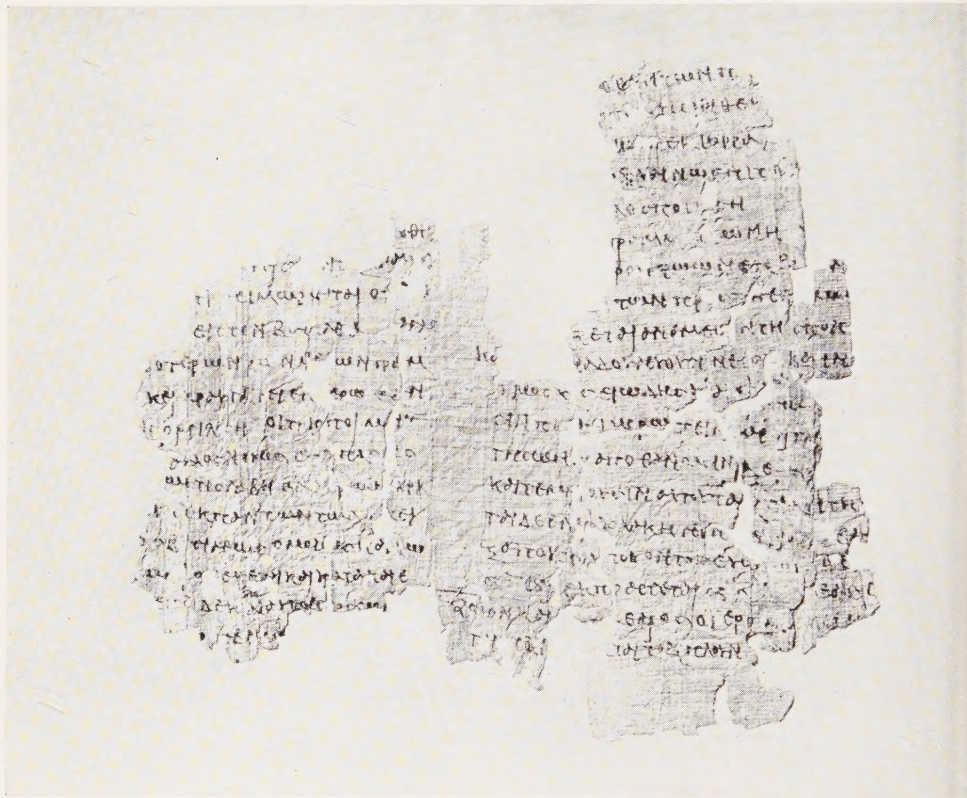

PLATE 2

ἱερὰν μέλλοιεν θρησκείαν . . . ἀπείχοντο . . . πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁμιλίας γυναικείας· ἄρρενος μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον μετεῖχον."

Recto — Col. ii

4. My first inclination was to attempt a restoration of this line with ἐ̣ρ̣[ῶ. But in the text as preserved the use of the first person is limited to the formal oath, all parts of which are given in negative form. I now feel that a verb in the first person singular is out of place here, that what precedes line 6, as in recto col. i. 14–17, should be descriptive and all verbs put in the third person, singular or plural.

5. Youtie suggests αὐτὸ̣[ν κατὰ τὸ].

6–7. On food and drink of the priests see Herod., 2. 37; Porphyry, de Abs. 4. 6–7; Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 5–8, 32; Apuleius, Met 11. 21, 23.

7. β̣ι̣[βλίοις]: Cf. Apuleius, Met. 11. 22, "quosdam libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos. . ."

The line as restored has 34 letters. However, since the letter iota, which occurs here six times, requires no more than half the space of other letters, this line does conform in length with the others.

8. This line is puzzling. Coming between promises concerning food and drink and different types of work it might be thought of as being linked with either or as something entirely separate from both. However, as πίω is linked closely with φάγω by οὐδὲ οὐ μή (line 6) so probably οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ κολλήσω should be interpreted with what precedes. The fact that οὐ μή, not οὐδὲ οὐ μή is used in lines 9–12 also argues against taking line 8 as being entirely independent of both preceding and following lines.

Literally κολλάω means "to glue," "to unite." I should take lines 6–8 to mean "I will not eat and I will not drink the things that are unlawful . . . nor will I lay hold of them."

Youtie, giving a different interpretation to the line, states:

> Either this line must be interpreted in the light of the preceding or following lines, or it is independent of both. If we try to apply it to forbidden foods, it might be rendered "I shall not even touch my

fingers to them," but even in its known metaphorical uses κολλάω still retains the notion of close attachment, and this emphatic sense is not suitable here. If the line concerns forbidden occupations, then it becomes a comprehensive statement which converts the following lines into a piece of tautology.

I know of no exact or even close parallel in Greek for κολλήσω τοὺς δακτύλους, but Frank Copley has called my attention to Catullus 25.6–9: remitte pallium mihi meum quod involasti sudariumque . . . quae nunc *tuis ab unguibus reglutina* et remitte. Here, returning pilfered goods is expressed by "unglue them from your claws." This strongly suggests that the Greek line might mean "nor will I glue my fingers [to anything which belongs to the temple]," i.e. I will not purloin temple property. Although κολλήσω τοὺς δακτύλους is unparalleled as Greek idiom, it would be a most appropriate expression in *koine* for the idea. We are reminded of English "sticky fingers" and "everything sticks to his fingers." That a priest might bind himself solemnly not to pilfer, without transgressing the bounds of a reasonable probability, follows from Cumont, *Égypte des astrologues*, p. 138, esp. n. 3. Cumont cites Firmicus Maternus for priests who robbed their own god of the votive offerings left by the pious; he regards them as the abominable of the *hierosyloi*.

I feel that there are two arguments against this interpretation. (1) Such metaphorical usage seems out of place in a solemn oath which, here, I take to be a translation in Greek of one originally stated in the Egyptian language. (2) In what appears to be a temple regulation (verso col. i. 8–9) λάβῃ is used to mean "steal."

9. οὐ ⟨μὴ⟩ μετρήσω: The negative was probably inadvertently dropped before the following με.

9–10. Cf. Plato, Tim. 63 B, "αἴρων τὸν ζυγόν."

On the necessity of abstaining from all work not connected with the temple cf. Porph., de Abs. 4. 6, "ἀπειπάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἐργασίαν καὶ πόρους ἀνθρωπίνους, ἀπέδοσαν ὅλον τὸν βίον τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ καὶ θεάσει"; also Gnomon des Idios Logos 71, "'Ιερεῦσ[ι] οὐκ ἐξὸν πρὸς ἄλ[λ]η χρείᾳ ἢ τῇ τῶν θεῶν [θρ]ησκείᾳ."

11–13. Since τριχός requires a verb governing the genitive one meaning "to touch" seems most appropriate. By itself the promise not to touch wool might be linked with the regulation forbidding the wearing of woolen clothing, hence weaving a woolen garment.[7]

[7] See Herod. 2. 37, 81; Gnomon 71, 75, 76.

However, the close association here of *τριχὸς προβάτου* and *μάχαιραν* recalls Iliad 3.271–3:

> *Ἀτρείδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χείρεσσι μάχαιραν*
> *ἣ οἱ πὰρ ξίφεος μέγα κουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο*
> *ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνε τρίχας.*

The lines therefore may indicate that there is to be no sacrifice of sheep on the part of one taking the oath. Sextus Empiricus, Pyr. 3. 220 states that it was unlawful to sacrifice a sheep to Isis. If that is the meaning here the oath must be one taken by a man who is to be a priest of Isis.

12. *κατάσχω*: For the meaning "to hold" cf. Suidas, s.v. *Πρίαπος*: *ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον κατέχον.*

This line in which the individual states that he will not possess a cutting instrument (*μάχαιρα*) is to be contrasted with recto col. i. 18 where there is a declaration not to cut.

12–13. [*μά*]*χαιραν*: Other uses of the word in an Egyptian context are:

Herod. 2.41. "*οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ . . . μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται . . . οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται.*" Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 11. "*καὶ γὰρ τὸν ὠμότατον Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ φοβερώτατον Ὦχον ἀποκτείναντα πόλλους, τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἆπιν ἀποσφάξαντα καὶ καταδειπνήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐκάλεσαν 'μάχαιραν.'*"

14. *κατὰ* ⟨*τα*⟩*ὐτό*: This reading with the meaning "together," "in the same place" seems preferable to *κατ᾽αὐτό*, "according to it," i.e., according to something previously mentioned. For a similar haplography see commentary on line 9.

ἐν[ ]: Youtie suggests *ἐν* [*βίβλῳ ἦν*].

15. Cf. Demosthenes, de Cor. 118, "*λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι.*"

16. *πρὸς* [*μαρτυρίαν . . .*]: Cf. recto col. i. 17.

Verso — Col. i

3. Cf. recto col. ii. 5.

4. The space between *βασιλέα* and *ἄλλος* marks the end of one section and the beginning of another. The mention of a king here

and in line 11 indicates, possibly, the antiquity of the regulations.

6.]κει: or]κεὶ=καὶ εἰ.

κραυγάγει: for κραυγάζει.

8. ἄλλος νόμος: The preceding and following lines must be part of a series of regulations of the temple.

Verso — Col. ii

2. ὅθεν τῶν: or ὃ θέντων.

6. The space left after ποιήσῃ together with the extension to the left of line 7 indicates the end of one section and the beginning of another. See plate 2.

7–20. These lines apparently describe duties of the ἱερογραμματεύς relative to sacred animals.

11. εἰς τ[ὸ] βασιλι[κόν: "In respect of the fiscus."

13. τειμωρεῖται: Cf. recto col. ii. 5.

14. της ὦσιν: or -τησωσιν.

ἀποθάνωσιν: Cf. Herod. 2. 38.

18. (δηνάρια)'A: Read by Youtie. The use of denarii here is in contrast to the Gnomon where drachmas regularly occur.

Translation — Recto Col. ii. 6–16

"I will not eat and I will not drink the things that are not lawful nor all those things which have been written in the books nor will I attach my fingers to them; I will not measure a measure on a threshing floor; I will not lift a balance in my hand; I will not measure land; I will not go into an unclean place; I will not touch sheep's hair; I will not hold the *machaira* until the day of my death." All these things are written down together [in a book]. Taking it up he reads it aloud as testimony. . ."

FAITH AND ORDER AT THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA: A NOTE ON THE BACKGROUND OF THE SIXTH CANON

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I

AT the Council of Nicaea all the bishops but two signed the creed and canons. This virtual unanimity must have been very gratifying to Constantine, and it represents no mean achievement in reconciliation on the emperor's part — for it is not what anyone would have expected after the dramatic events leading up to the calling of the Council. The creed appears to have been on every ground acceptable to Alexander of Alexandria and to Ossius of Cordova. If it was not, they had only themselves to blame, since they had been chiefly responsible for its form and had previously agreed, at a meeting of the Council's steering committee at Nicomedia, on the crucial word *homoousios*.[1] It is not so certain that the creed was equally acceptable to the extreme anti-Arians, Marcellus of Ancyra or Eustathius of Antioch. Eustathius seems to have been ill content that the Nicene fathers had not had the courage of their convictions and had failed to confirm the decisions of the Council of Antioch held shortly before it; in his view they should have roundly condemned the rank Arianism of Eusebius of Caesarea and his two friends, Theodotus of Laodicea and Narcissus of Neronias. We may reasonably doubt whether any document that Eusebius was conscientiously able to sign would have been regarded as satisfactory by Eustathius.[2] But neither Eustathius nor Marcellus would themselves have found difficulty with the content of the creed. And there is no reason to suppose that the nineteenth canon, regulating the terms for the admission of members of the congregation loyal to Paul of Samosata, repre-

[1] Philostorgius, H.E. i.7.

[2] Theodoret, H.E. i.8.1–5. The "Eusebius" of this attack is, I think, more likely to be the Caesarean than the Nicomedian. For the policy of Eustathius and the Council of Antioch in 325 see J. T. S., new series ix (1958), p. 303.

sented any policy other than that which Eustathius would have been happy to implement. So far as his own position was concerned, he could sign both creed and canons with an untroubled conscience.

On the other side of the house the outstanding feature is the exiguous size of the opposition to the creed. No doubt had any Acta been preserved we should know much more of the stern debates that took place. But it is astounding that, after the violent partisanship of the period immediately preceding the Council, the creed should have been signed at the end with an apparently negligible pair of recalcitrants. The letter, preserved by Athanasius,[3] in which Eusebius of Caesarea explains to his church how he had come to accept the very extraordinary theology of the Nicene formula is, of course, the indispensable clue which reveals the way in which the creed was understood by many who had previously declared themselves to be for Arius and against Bishop Alexander of Alexandria. Not only Eusebius of Caesarea but Narcissus of Neronias, Theodotus of Laodicea, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Maris of Chalcedon, and Aetius of Lydda, all appear among the signatories.[4] Above all the Bithynian bench, which had formerly been prominent in its outspoken opposition to Alexander of Alexandria, now discloses solid support for the Council's decisions, following the powerful lead of Arius's friends, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea. It is very possible that the reasoning of Eusebius of Caesarea's letter to his church is the outcome not of his own purely private

[3] Athanasius, de Decretis 33 = Socrates H.E. i.8.35 ff. = Theodoret, H.E. i.12. Athanasius (de Decretis 3, de Synodis 13) observes that Eusebius put his own individual interpretation on the creed, but that at least he accepted the formula (which is more than can be said of his successor Acacius). From de Synodis 37.2 it appears that in 359 at the time of the Council of Seleucia Eudoxius, Acacius and the radical group are using Eusebius's letter as evidence that the Nicene formula could not be conscientiously accepted by honest theologians, and urging that the hesitating homoiousian party could not continue to halt between two opinions on the basis which Eusebius's letter seemed to provide.

[4] For the lists see Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina, edited by Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, and Cuntz (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898). The Latin lists, with which the Syriac closely agree, are best set out in C. H. Turner, Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima, I, pp. 35–102, where the most reliable tradition is represented in column V, as Turner himself later remarked (op. cit., I, fasc. ii, pars 3, praefatio p. xv). His conclusion has been reinforced by the detailed study of Honigmann in Byzantion xiv (1939), pp. 27–44.

thoughts, but represents the party line; it is a statement of a general theological platform, reached after anxious debate and the consumption of much midnight oil. The Eusebian group was without doubt a coalition of diverse standpoints, with Eusebius of Caesarea representing the position least approximating to that of Arius. Certainly he stood much nearer to Alexander of Alexandria than to Eusebius of Nicomedia. It appears from a passage of Sozomen, which has no equivalent in Socrates and is probably an extract from Sabinus of Heraclea, that (probably about 328) Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea also issued a statement to indicate the sense in which they had declared their assent to the Nicene creed. Sozomen adds that this statement rekindled the whole debate, but unhappily he does not reveal the nature of the glosses which they put upon the formula.[5]

Accordingly, the letter of Eusebius to the church of Caesarea is the sole surviving explanation of an astounding *volte-face*.

Eusebius of Caesarea himself was caught between two fires in 325, since he was being opposed not only by Eustathius of Antioch, but also, nearer home, by Macarius of Jerusalem. Macarius was one of the three bishops who had absolutely dissociated himself from the support given to Arius by several of the Palestinian bishops after Alexander of Alexandria had declared him excommunicate.[6] No doubt the Palestinians, led by Eusebius of Caesarea, supposed that history was repeating itself and that they were again being asked to grant asylum to a learned theologian of Alexandria, who like Origen had been misunderstood by his ecclesiastical superior. Macarius of Jerusalem stood out against his metropolitan's lead and, together with Philogonius of Antioch and Hellanicus of Tripolis, wholeheartedly supported the bishop of Alexandria.[7] He was also present at the Council of Antioch early in 325, led by Ossius of Cordova and by Philogonius's successor,

[5] Sozomen, H.E. ii.32.7–8.

[6] Sozomen, H.E. i.15.11. In his letter to Alexander of Byzantium (Theodoret, H.E. i.4.37), Alexander of Alexandria bitterly complains of the action of "three Syrian bishops," Eusebius of Caesarea, Paulinus of Tyre, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, who have communicated with Arius.

[7] Arius's letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia (Theodoret, H.E. i.5 = Epiphanius, Panarion lxix.6) informs him that he is being supported by Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus, and Aetius of Lydda, while Alexander of Alexandria is supported by Philogonius of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Hellanicus of Tripolis.

Eustathius, which provisionally excommunicated Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Narcissus of Neronias for their Arian sympathies.[8] At Nicaea, therefore, Macarius was in an attacking position; Eusebius of Caesarea was on the defensive, and had to prove his orthodoxy. The dramatic and unqualified support of Constantine saved the day for Eusebius, in that the emperor's personal intervention rescued him from condemnation by the extremists lined up against him. But in one fateful respect the emperor's ideas weakened the position of Caesarea: Constantine was mystical about the Holy Places.[9] It looks as if Macarius was able to exploit this mystique if it was he who extracted from the Council the seventh canon awarding Aelia special honor. Although the canon concludes with a qualifying clause safeguarding the rights of Caesarea as the metropolis of the civil province, nevertheless the canon obviously marks the beginning of an attempt by the bishops of Jerusalem to create a patriarchate. In any event it is noteworthy that among the Palestinian signatories the first name is that of Macarius, while Eusebius's name stands fifth.

Eusebius had had a narrow escape, and must have counted himself lucky to have won the qualifying safeguard at all. He was no great ecclesiastical politician like his namesake of Nicomedia, and may well have nursed optimistic hopes that the rights still preserved to the metropolis by the seventh canon would continue to be respected by future bishops of Jerusalem.[10] But, with this one

[8] See H. G. Opitz, Urkunden zur Geschichte des Arianischen Streites (= Athanasius Werke, Band III, 1), document 18.

[9] See especially W. Telfer, "Constantine's Holy Land Plan," in Studia Patristica, ed. Aland and Cross, i (Texte und Untersuchungen lxiii, Berlin, 1957), pp. 696–700.

[10] The dispute between Acacius of Caesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem (Sozomen, H.E. iv.25; Theodoret, H.E. ii.26) left Caesarea in a position of temporary superiority. About 392 the clergy and people of Gaza went to Caesarea for their new bishop (Marcus Diaconus, Vita Porphyrii 11–12). When Theophilus of Alexandria sent round a warning letter against Origenism to the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus, he put first the name of Eulogius of Caesarea, second that of John of Jerusalem; the reply of the synod of Jerusalem follows the same order of precedence (Jerome, Epp. 92–93). In passing, it is noteworthy that Theophilus addressed this letter to those provinces of the diocese Oriens which were never effectively under the control of the patriarch of Antioch (see below, p. 184–5), though at this time, 401, Cyprus and Palestine were understood to belong to Antiochene jurisdiction at least in theory. Add to this observation the Pauline text about "the care of all the churches" quoted in John of Jerusalem's letter to Theophilus (Jerome, adv. Joh. Hier. 37), and it looks as if the Origenist controversy was being exploited by

exception of Caesarea, there was nothing in the administrative arrangements of the Nicene canons, with their explicit program of concentrating power in the hands of the bishop of the provincial capital, that might cause misgiving to the leading Arian bishops at the Council. The Nicene decisions on matters of Order provided no ground for thinking twice about accepting the statement of the Faith.

If, therefore, we ask why the opposition was so small, the answer will be that the emperor required assent and was personally at hand to add point to his demand; that the creed, if far from ideal, had at least the merit of being a highly ambiguous formula which both sides could interpret in a way congruous with their standpoint; [11] and that the canons contained nothing that seemed to the leaders on either side to interfere with their existing powers. Accordingly, when at the end of the Council the high-ranking bureaucrat Philumenos (either *magister militum* or *magister officiorum*) [12] took the *biblion* round for the bishops to sign with the explicit alternative of deposition and exile, there were found but two out of the two hundred and twenty odd bishops present who were unwilling to stretch their consciences and preferred the severe discomforts of banishment. Admittedly their term of exile was not to prove long. But at the time the two intransigents, Secundus of Ptolemais in the Libyan Pentapolis and Theonas of Marmarica,[13]

Theophilus to attach Cyprus and Palestine to his own jurisdiction or at least to weaken that of Antioch. The final outcome, of course, was the creation of the independent patriarchate of Jerusalem by Juvenal, whose story has been brilliantly told by Honigmann in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 5 (1950). Until Juvenal the seventh canon remained effective.

[11] Loofs's judgment that the Nicene creed was "intentionally ambiguous" is, I think, an exaggeration (see his paper, "Das Nicänum," in Festgabe f. Karl Müller, Tübingen, 1922, pp. 68–82), but an exaggeration of a truth: it was the ambiguity of the formula which made it possible for almost everyone to accept it, and had it not possessed that virtue Constantine would not have given the formula the support without which it would hardly have become accepted so generally. But I doubt if Ossius and Alexander drafted the creed with the deliberate purpose of providing a comprehensive statement which the Eusebians would be happy to sign. The statement they produced turned out to be capable of an inclusive interpretation, but that was more accident than design.

[12] See the Life of Constantine in the codex Angelicus which used Philostorgius (ed. Bidez, p. 10). Philumenos played some part also in the Donatist controversy; in 316 he advised Constantine to keep Caecilian of Carthage a prisoner at Brescia (Optatus, i.26).

[13] See the letter of the Council of Nicaea "to the Church of Alexandria and to the brethren in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis," cited by Athanasius, de Decretis

could have had little feeling of benevolence for their friends and associates who had submitted. As he left the Council, Secundus turned on the great leader, Eusebius of Nicomedia, with the angry words "Eusebius, you signed to escape exile!" and prophesied, correctly, that Eusebius would soon follow him on the same road.[14]

The position of Secundus and Theonas at Nicaea is rather odd. They had already been formally excommunicated by Alexander of Alexandria before the Nicene Council was ever called.[15] No doubt Eusebius of Nicomedia and his friends had seen to it that they were nevertheless invited to the Council specifically called to review the whole controversy, and presumably they were present on much the same basis as Eusebius of Caesarea, Narcissus of Neronias, and Theodotus of Laodicea — provisionally excommunicated at Antioch but given a last opportunity of demonstrating their orthodoxy by submitting to the bishops at Nicaea.

When so many Arianizing bishops signed the creed, it becomes surprising not that the opposition was exiguous but that there were any dissentients at all. Why did Secundus and Theonas alone stand out against submission? If they could not make their own the reasoning of Eusebius of Caesarea, at least they might have followed the example of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, who signed first and explained later. Moreover, the fact that subsequently they were readmitted to communion and reinstated in their sees suggests that it was not simply a matter of conscience for them. Perhaps, however, their doctrinal dissent was fortified by other, more emotional, considerations. Seeck,[16] for example, threw out the suggestion that Secundus and Theonas were both intimate friends of Arius and were unwilling to break with him for personal reasons — much as the Antiochene bishops at the Council of Ephesus in 431 were tied to Nestorius by close bonds of friendship and intimacy. It is entirely possible that such

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36; Socrates, H.E. i.9; Theodoret, H.E. i.9; Gelasius, H.E. ii.34. (Opitz, document 23 — as above, n.8.)

[14] Philostorgius, H.E. i.10. At i.9 he distinguishes sharply between the Libyan group and "the other block of Arians."

[15] See the encyclical of Alexander of Alexandria to all bishops, cited by Athanasius, de Decretis 35.6, Socrates H.E. i.6.8; also Athanasius, Historia Arianorum 71.4.

[16] Otto Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt, iii² (Stuttgart, 1921), p. 401.

motives had something to do with it. Nevertheless I suspect that there were deeper reasons than this.

Arianism was remarkably strong in Libya. Philostorgius, according to the Thesaurus of Nicetas Choniates,[17] gives a list of the chief bishops on the side of Arius. His catalogue begins thus: "From Libya superior: Sentianos of Boreion, Dachios of Berenice, Secundus of Teuchera, Zopyrus of Barka, another Secundus of Ptolemais, Theonas of Marmarica." Philostorgius continues by enumerating bishops from other provinces; but it is noteworthy that he puts Libya at the head of his list, and that this province not only has more Arian supporters that any other but is also virtually "solid." Almost all the cities of the Pentapolis are included. At Nicaea, admittedly, the united front disintegrated. Dachios of Berenice, Secundus of Teuchera and Zopyrus of Barka all appear among the signatories. Boreion was a remote spot, the most westerly of the cities of the Pentapolis, where until Justinian applied some pressure the population was predominantly Jewish and the Christians were few.[18] Perhaps Sentianus did not come to Nicaea.

Philostorgius's statement is independently confirmed by two other pieces of evidence. The first is the fantastic letter from Constantius to Arius, denouncing him in a pompous and theatrical style, in reply to a petition sent by Arius from Libya which asked if, since the bishop of Alexandria (Athanasius) was resolutely refusing to restore him to communion, he might act independently and minister in Libya *where his supporters were numerous*. Constantine seizes the opportunity given by Arius's admission that he is in Libya and quotes a terrible prediction of doom upon Libya from the Sibylline Oracles.[19]

[17] Nicetas, Thesaur. v. 7 (Migne, P.G. cxxxix. 1368), printed in Bidez's edition of Philostorgius, p. 9.

[18] Procopius, Aedif. vi.2.14 ff.

[19] See Constantine's letter in Athanasius, de Decretis 40.20 = Gelasius, H.E. iii.19.20 (Opitz, document 34). The Arian demand for the toleration of an independent Arian community side by side with the Athanasian churches in Egypt and Libya recurs later. At Antioch on 31 October 363 the Arian bishop of Alexandria, Lucius, one Bernicianus and some others submitted to the emperor Jovian charges against Athanasius; when it became clear that Jovian was committed to the support of Athanasius, they asked him to "authorise our meeting together for worship," complaining that Athanasius harried them as heretics and deprived their churches of endowments of land. The text of the dialogue survives appended to Athanasius,

The second piece of evidence is the testimony of Synesius's 67th letter, addressed to Theophilus of Alexandria. Synesius tells Theophilus that two villages of the Pentapolis, Palaebiscus and Hydrax, whither Theophilus had sent him to appoint a bishop, did not constitute a see by any precedent of long standing. For many years past the villages had been subject to the bishop of Erythrum, from whose jurisdiction the inhabitants were now most unwilling to be released, and this was in accordance with the original arrangement. There had been a bishop of Palaebiscus only for a short time during the fourth century when special circumstances called for it. At that time the bishop of Erythrum, one Orion, was weak and senile; the people were dissatisfied, since they expected their bishop to be their *patronus*, the powerful advocate of their secular interests. They therefore chose a young and energetic bishop of their own named Siderius, a local property owner lately retired from Valens's army and influential with secular potentates. Their next problem was to arrange for his consecration. He was eventually consecrated quite uncanonically, without either the assent of the bishop of Alexandria or by three bishops of the province, by Philo of Cyrene, who acted entirely on his own. It is possible that theological motives may have entered in at this point. For later, when Athanasius wanted to find a man who could be relied upon as bishop of the vital metropolitan city of Ptolemais (in all probability this was on the death of Secundus's successor, Stephen), he discovered the virtues of Siderius and translated him to Ptolemais, suppressing the dubiously established see of Palaebiscus. The cavalier treatment of Church Order disclosed by the story is, however, justified by the special circumstances of the Libyan churches. For, Synesius remarks, "at that time the mass of the people in the Pentapolis were on the side of heresy": *τότε δὲ καὶ ἐκράτει τὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων· πλήθει γὰρ περιῆσαν.*[20]

It is therefore certain that Arianism had a deep hold in Libya

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Ep. ad Iovianum (Migne, P.G. xxvi.821 B). The date, 31 October, is given by the Coptic fragment of the Festal Letter for 364 published by M. Pieper in Z. N. W. xxxvii (1938), p. 75.

[20] Synesius, Ep. 67 (Migne, P.G. lxvi.1413 C). It also appears (1417 A) that at the end of his life Siderius returned home to Palaebiscus and Hydrax. It is unlikely that he retired. More probably he was extruded under Arian pressure in the period after Athanasius's death when Peter of Alexandria was a refugee at Rome.

during the first half of the fourth century and perhaps even later. The question arises why this should have been so. A possible answer might be that Dionysius of Alexandria had conducted so successful a campaign of suppression against Sabellianism in the Pentapolis that the churches there had taken the lesson only too well to heart.[21] Dionysius's theological position made him reckoned the father of Arianism by many in the fourth century, both Arian and orthodox, and Athanasius's attempt to vindicate his good name has the character of a rearguard action.[22] Perhaps the theologians of the Pentapolis had remained Dionysian and had failed to keep up with the more recent developments in dogmatic theology now represented by Alexander of Alexandria. They were heretics because they were behind the times. On such questions one can only speculate with analogies in mind. One contrast between the two controversies is noteworthy. In 259–60 the prevailing theology in the Pentapolis is inclined to be modalistic, and the local temper is critical of the bishop of Alexandria. They look across the sea for a superior authority who can be invoked against him. In 325 the theological situation is exactly reversed. But the controversies are parallel rather than contrasting in this respect, that the Pentapolitans show an independent spirit and welcome a view opposed to that of the bishop of Alexandria.

Perhaps this independence of mind is an important clue. The Pentapolis, after all, was a considerable way from Alexandria. For an ordinary traveller without encumbrances the four hundred miles would require nearly three weeks.[23] Distance encourages the desire for self-determination. Against this background it is necessary to reconsider the sixth canon of Nicaea.

[21] For the story of the controversy see H. G. Opitz, "Dionys von Alexandria und die Libyer," in Quantulacumque: Studies presented to Kirsopp Lake (London, 1937), pp. 41–54.

[22] A fragment of Athanasius of Anazarbus (Migne, P.L. xiii.621) illustrates the Arian appeal to his authority. See the discussion of the fragment by D. de Bruyne in Z. N. W. xxvii (1928), p. 110, and by G. Bardy, Recherches sur S. Lucien d'Antioche et son école (Paris, 1936), p. 208. Athanasius not only has to write a special tract to vindicate his revered predecessor from the smear of Arianism (de Sententiis Dionysii), but also has to deal with the matter in later works, de Decretis 26 and de Synodis 43–44. Basil, Ep. 9, is openly critical of much of Dionysius's work.

[23] Procopius, Aedif. vi.2.3.

II

Of the twenty canons of Nicaea the most famous and controversial is the sixth. Unfortunately the text is not well set out in any convenient collection of the canons. I print the text of the first sentence as I think it ought to be printed:

> τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σῴζεσθαι ταῖς < τῶν μητροπόλεων > ἐκκλησίαις.

The variants in the Greek manuscripts make no difference to the sense and are not important, viz., ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, the omission of πάντων, and τοῦτο instead of τὸ τοιοῦτον.[24]

The supplementary words "of the metropoleis" at the end are attested in no known Greek manuscript, and are equally unattested in the Syriac translations.[25] They are presupposed by the oldest Latin translations, printed by C. H. Turner in his Monumenta.[26] It will be convenient to have them set out.

First, the version read at the Council of Carthage in 419, as that made from the copy of the canons brought home by Caecilian in 325:

> De primatibus qui ad quasdam pertinent ciuitates. Antiqua per Egyptum atque Pentapolim consuetudo seruetur ut Alexandrinus episcopus horum habeat sollicitudinem, quoniam et urbis Rome episcopo similis mos est ut in suburbicaria loca sollicitudinem gerat; necnon et apud Antiochiam itaque et in aliis prouinciis propria iura seruentur metropolitanis ecclesiis.

Secondly, the version made from the text sent to Carthage by Atticus of Constantinople at the invitation of the same council:

[24] For the variants see the critical text of V. Beneševič, Ioannis Scholastici Synagoga L Titulorum (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist. Abt., N. F. 14, 1937), p. 32.

[25] See F. Schulthess, Die syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon (Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Kl., N. F. X, 2, 1908), p. 18.

[26] Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant. I, pp. 120–121. Schwartz was the first to draw attention to the importance of these translations (cf. below, n. 45).

De primatibus qui ad quasdam pertinent ciuitates. Antiqui mores obtineant qui apud Aegyptum sunt et Libiam et Penthapolim ut Alexandriae episcopus omnium habeat sollicitudinem, quia et urbis Romae episcopo similis mos est. similiter autem et circa Anthiociam et ceteris prouinciis priuilegia propria reseruentur metropolitanis aecclesiis.

Thirdly, the version of the Chieti manuscript (=Vatic. regin. 1997), written in the first half of the ninth century for an otherwise unknown bishop of Chieti, at that time in the Lombard duchy of Benevento, named Ingilram. This manuscript, with its characteristic combination of the Nicene and Serdican canons under a single heading, gives the oldest Roman translation of the Nicene canons in the form current at Rome early in the fifth century.[27] The first sentence of the sixth canon as given in the Chieti manuscript is quoted in exactly this form by Paschasinus of Lilybaeum, the Roman legate at the Council of Chalcedon: [28]

Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatus. teneat autem et Aegyptus ut episcopus Alexandriae omnium habeat potestatem, quoniam et Romano episcopo haec est consuetudo. similiter autem et qui in Anthiocia constitutus est: et in ceteris prouinciis primatus habeant ecclesiae ciuitatum ampliorum.

The same Greek text is likewise presupposed in the fifth century Italian version called Prisca, but as it is dependent upon the tradition lying behind the Chieti manuscript it is of no independent value.

The problem of the text in this instance is bound up with the interpretation of the sentence as a whole. Some of the labor expended upon the exegesis of the sixth canon has treated it as if it were anticipating Damasus and his successors and attempting to determine the hierarchical order of the great sees, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. This is the exposition followed, for example, by the great Byzantine canonist of the twelfth century, Theodoros Balsamon.[29] It was an exegesis much favored at Rome between

[27] See C. H. Turner in J. T. S. xxxi (1930), pp. 9 ff.

[28] The text cited by Paschasinus is preserved by the Latin version, printed by Schwartz, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II.iii.548. The second half of the sixth canon follows not the Chieti manuscript's form but that of the "Isidorian" version.

[29] Rhalles-Potles, Syntagma Canonum ii (Athens, 1852), p. 129: "This sixth

Damasus and Leo, where the question of precedence was a major preoccupation. The original context is quite different.

The Nicene canons, as is well known, lay down the general rule that the bishop of the provincial capital shall have the right of assent or of veto upon any consecration to the episcopate within the secular province (canon 4).[30] Canon 6 grants that there are precedents for making exceptions to this rule which, in the cases of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch are confirmed as proper and correct. The seventh canon treats the position of Jerusalem as also being in some sense exceptional, but not sufficiently so to upset the normal metropolitical privileges of Caesarea. With regard, however, to the continuance of "the ancient customs" by which the jurisdiction of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch extends beyond the narrow limits of the civil province, the sixth canon is decisive.

Later preoccupations in both East and West obscured the meaning of the canon in its original setting. The wording of the canon left deplorably uncertain the status of Antioch in the diocese Oriens. In fact, the sixth canon does not make any attempt whatever to define Antiochene jurisdiction; the Nicene fathers are reaffirming generally known precedents from Syria, parallel to those from Italy which justify Alexandria's privileges in Libya, but they do not specify what the Syrian precedents are. It is sufficient for their point that these precedents are known to exist. In the course of time this ambiguity needed clearing up. In 381 at the Council of Constantinople the opportunity came with the ending of the Arian controversy. For a long time Antioch had been racked by the Arian disputes, and since 362 the orthodox had been divided into the congregation loyal to the memory of Eustathius, led by Paulinus, and the larger group under Meletius. The long controversy had greatly weakened the standing of the see, and it was important that the position of the bishop of Antioch should be reinforced. The bishops at the Council of Constantinople tried to extend the principles of the Nicene canons by which the ecclesiastical and civil provinces are (in the East) coterminous, and to

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canon and the seventh lay down that the four patriarchs, viz., Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem (for Constantinople will be treated in other canons) must be honoured according to the ancient customs."

[30] The best study remains that of Konrad Lübeck, Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts (Münster, 1901).

organize the Church in larger units coterminous with the civil dioceses.[31] They declared that Flavian, the newly appointed bishop of Antioch, should be "exarch" of the diocese Oriens, i.e., he should possess patriarchal status throughout all the provinces of which the civil administration was in the hands of the *comes Orientis* whose residence was at Antioch.[32] This was understood to be the intention of the sixth canon of Nicaea.[33]

The first and probably immediate breach in this Antiochene exarchate was the defection of Cyprus. Early in the fifth century Alexander of Antioch successfully invoked the support of Pope Innocent I in his contention that on the ground of the sixth Nicene canon he had patriarchal authority over the entire Oriental diocese, including Cyprus.[34] The Cypriots were absolutely refusing to recognize the patriarchal privileges of Antioch. A good reason may

[31] The recognition by the Council of Constantinople that the bishop of the capital of the civil diocese is exarch for the provinces belonging to that diocese is nominally reaffirmed at Chalcedon. But the great patriarchates were already making the Constantinopolitan arrangement superseded, and this is virtually admitted in the ninth and seventeenth canons of Chalcedon which allow any dispute with the metropolitan to be taken *either* to the exarch of the diocese *or* to the patriarch of Constantinople. The system of organization by dioceses never took root.

[32] Domnus of Antioch's letter to Dioscorus of Alexandria, extant in the Syriac version of the Acts of the second Council of Ephesus, 449, attests the fact that "Flavian accepted the exarchate." See the edition of the Syriac text, with Hofmann's German translation, by J. Flemming, Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449 (Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Kl., N. F. XV, 1, 1917), pp. 146–14,. In the English translation by Perry (The Second Synod of Ephesus, 1881), the letter is on pp. 352–356.

At one point in the proceedings of the synod of Antioch of 444, the acts of which are transcribed in the Acts of Chalcedon, Domnus of Antioch is entitled "exarch of the Oriental diocese" (Act. Chalc. xv. 135; Schwartz, A. C. O. II.i.438). Jerome assumes that the Nicene canons make Jerusalem subject to Caesarea as metropolis of the province and the whole of the diocese Oriens subject to Antioch; see his adv. Ioh. Hier. 37: "Tu qui regulas quaeris ecclesiasticas et Nicaeni concilii canonibus uteris . . . responde mihi, ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palaestina pertinet? ni fallor hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palaestinae metropolis Caesaria sit et totius orientis Antiochia" (Vallarsi[2], ii. 447). It is noteworthy that the Latin version of the Nicene canons called Gallo-Hispana interprets the limits of Antiochene jurisdiction as being "the whole of Coele-Syria": "Et ut antiquos mos maneat, Aegyptum Liben Pentapolin Alexandriae episcopus habeat potestatem; sicut urbis Rome episcopus habit uicinas sibi prouincias et Anthiocie totam Coelem." (Turner, Monumenta i. 196).

[33] According to the canon of Constantinople (381) "the bishops of the Orient are to control only the Orient, the privileges accorded to the church of Antioch by the canons of Nicaea being preserved." Domnus of Antioch appeals to this canon in his letter to Flavian of Constantinople (=Theodoret, ep. 86) protesting against Alexandrian interference in 448.

[34] Innocent, Ep. xxiv (Migne, P.L. xx. 547–551).

be conjectured for this refusal. The leading Cypriot bishop during the period in question was Epiphanius of Constantia, bishop from 367 until his death in 403. Epiphanius enjoyed particularly friendly relations with Paulinus of Antioch.[35] Neither he nor Paulinus attended the Council of Constantinople in 381. They appeared, however, at Damasus's Council of Rome in 382 which issued a formal counterblast to the decisions of Constantinople and protested vigorously against the appointment of Flavian at Antioch.[36] Relations between Flavian of Antioch and the bishops of Cyprus must have been extremely strained, and in all probability Flavian could not even begin to exercise effective control of the island. The correspondence between Alexander of Antioch and Pope Innocent shows that the bishops of Antioch had not forgotten about their claims to Cyprus; probably Innocent's support strengthened Alexander's hand enough for him to enlist the help of the *comes Orientis*. But the Nestorian controversy gave the Cypriots their long awaited chance to denounce enosis and to become autocephalous. They exploited the split between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch, giving their whole-hearted support to Cyril. A special session of the Council of Ephesus held on 31 August 431, during the agonizing period of waiting when both sides had sent delegations to the court and the other bishops had to stay in Ephesus with nothing to do but pray for a decision from the emperor favorable to their own side, filled in a spare day by considering the Cyprus question. On receiving the assurance that no Cypriot bishop had yet been consecrated under mandate from Antioch, a statement which may well have been true, the synod agreed to affirm Cypriot independence.[37]

The next breach came with the creation of a patriarchate of Jerusalem by the ambitious and successful adventurer, Juvenal. Already by the time of the first Council of Ephesus in 431 Juvenal

[35] Epiphanius, Panarion lxxvii. 20 ff. (concerning his negotiations at Antioch about the Apollinarian group).

[36] Jerome, Ep. 108.6; 127.7 (Paulinus and Epiphanius at Rome in 382). For the general situation see a brief account in Hans Lietzmann, Geschichte der alten Kirche iv (1944), pp. 34, 56 = The Era of the Church Fathers, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf (1951), pp. 45, 65 f.; more detail in Schwartz, Z. N. W. xxxiv (1935), pp. 196–213, or in Cavallera, Le Schisme d'Antioche (Paris, 1905), pp. 245–262.

[37] Collectio Atheniensis 81, A.C.O. I.i.7, pp. 118–122. See a summary of the debate in B. J. Kidd, A History of the Church to A.D. 461, iii (Oxford, 1922), pp. 248–249.

appears to have gained control of the three Palestinian provinces, an achievement which he must have owed to the direct support of the Emperor Theodosius II,[38] and was already laying claim to the two Phoenician provinces and to Arabia.[39] Under the terms of the reunion with John of Antioch in 433 Cyril denounced Juvenal as a usurper,[40] and his claims perhaps even in Palestine had to wait. His chance came in 449 when Antioch under Domnus was again at odds with Alexandria under Dioscorus.[41] For support given to Dioscorus at the second Council of Ephesus, Juvenal was rewarded with jurisdiction over his coveted provinces of Phoenice I and II and Arabia. At Chalcedon, however, he had to yield them up under the terms of a formal agreement with poor Domnus's successor, Maximus, which allowed him to keep the three Palestines.[42] A few years later Maximus of Antioch regretted this loss of three provinces and tried to recover them by making a formal appeal to the sixth canon of Nicaea and invoking the aid of Pope Leo. Leo himself was using the sixth canon as the basis of his great attack upon Anatolius of Constantinople and upon the Chalcedonian resolution confirming the canon of Constantinople (381) by which New Rome was declared the second see of Christendom. Leo's argument ran that by the terms of the canon the hierarchical order — Rome, Alexandria, Antioch — had been immutably laid down by the 318 holy fathers. When, however, Maximus asked Leo if he would

[38] Cf. Act. Chalc. viii.17, A.C.O. II.i.366.

[39] Collectio Atheniensis 62.4, A.C.O. I.i.7, p. 73.

[40] Cyril, Ep. 56 (Migne, P.G. lxxvii.320); critical edition in Schwartz, Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431 (Abh. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. XXXII, 6, 1927), p. 17. Leo, Ep. 119, shows that Cyril wrote in the same sense to Rome. But about four or five years later John of Antioch writes to Proclus of Constantinople enumerating provinces subject to his obedience: he does not include either Cyprus or the Palestines (A.C.O. I.iv.210).

[41] At the second Council of Ephesus, 449, it was among the charges against Domnus of Antioch that he had invaded Juvenal's rights in Palestine. He was also accused on the ground that, when appointing a bishop for Antaradus in Phoenice I, he merely sent the mandate by post instead of going in person to enthrone the bishop, a complaint which may reveal something of Juvenal's methods in stealing the hearts of the men of Phoenicia and Arabia. See the Syriac Acts of Ephesus, ed. Flemming, pp. 126 f., tr. Perry, pp. 313 ff.

[42] At Chalcedon on 23 October 451 a private agreement between Maximus and Juvenal was made, which was given official sanction by the synod and the emperor on 26 October. The official proceedings of 26 October survive in Greek in Act. Chalc. viii (A.C.O. II.i.362–6); the whole story is only known from the Latin version, A.C.O. II.ii.109 ff., and is subjected to a masterly discussion by Schwartz in Abh. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. XXXII, 2 (1925).

please protest with equal vehemence against Juvenal of Jerusalem's infringement of the Nicene canon, which was indeed even more spectacular, the papal trumpet blew with a less certain sound.[43]

The decisions of the two ecumenical councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon greatly modified the interpretation put upon the Nicene canon by the fathers of Constantinople in 381. The patriarchs of Jerusalem remained in a strong enough position to hold their own against Antioch for the future. The metropolitan of Cyprus was not so secure. In the fifth century the patriarch of Antioch once more reaffirmed his privileges in Cyprus. This time the Cypriots left nothing to chance. If in 488 Peter the Fuller could invoke St. Peter as his predecessor, the Cypriots could produce St. Barnabas. The Son of Consolation himself appeared and disclosed the whereabouts of his body, which was duly found, together with a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel written in the hand of St. Barnabas himself. This priceless relic was presented to the Emperor Zeno who placed it in the church of St. Stephen in Daphne at Constantinople. Thereafter there was no question about the autocephalous rights of Cyprus.[44]

From all this evidence it is clear that the patriarchs of Antioch had a strong interest in the precise wording of the sixth canon of Nicaea. Schwartz[45] acutely suggested that this interest may have been responsible for the omission of the words *τῶν μητροπόλεων*, a conjecture which receives additional support from the likelihood that the first Greek *corpus canonum* originated at Antioch.[46]

The conventional punctuation (reproduced above, p. 180) takes

[43] Leo, Ep. 119. It is only fair to add that the Roman legates at Chalcedon had fatally compromised him by formally assenting to the agreement between Maximus and Juvenal on 26 October 451. To Maximus Leo protests that he disowns any action of his legates which exceeded their brief, but it was awkward for him in the circumstances.

[44] This story, solemnly recorded in the Roman Martyrology (11 June), is attested by Theodorus Lector, H.E. ii.2 (P.G. lxxxvi.1, 184); Victor Tunnensis, Chron. (P.L. lxviii.947); and among other late writers by Cedrenus (I pp. 618–19 ed. Bonn). See G. Downey, "The Claim of Antioch to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Cyprus," Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. 102 (1958), pp. 224–28.

[45] "Der sechste nicaenische Kanon auf der Synode von Chalkedon," Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1930, Phil. hist. Kl., pp. 611–40, especially at pp. 633 ff.

[46] This is argued with great ingenuity by Schwartz, "Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche," in Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, lvi, Kan. Abt. xxv (1936), pp. 1–114.

the phrase ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν closely with the words that follow. Linguistic analogy supports this (e.g., Neocaes. can. 10, Nic. can. 19, Laodic. can. 20). Nevertheless the observation concerning the jurisdiction of Antioch is probably not simply parallel to the affirmation of privileges attaching to churches in other provinces. There is also an implied contrast. It is noteworthy that the Latin version in the Chieti manuscript (above, p. 181) does not understand the phrase concerning Antioch as integrally linked with what follows but marks a distinction.

The blurring of the original force of the sixth canon is probably to be ascribed to the needs of the Antiochene patriarchate during the period after 381. The phrase required some interpretation to make it apply to the situation then prevailing. A similar but even more spectacular attempt to bring the sixth canon up to date with contemporary circumstances appears in the Latin versions. Here, naturally enough, it is the reference to Rome which is altered.

At least from the time of Siricius onwards, and perhaps earlier, the Popes are regularly invoking the authority of the Nicene canons. Roman reverence for them comes perilously near to superstition. In his protest against the proceedings taken against John Chrysostom, when Theophilus of Alexandria had accused John of infringing the twelfth canon of Antioch forbidding appeals to the civil power, Pope Innocent I affirms that the canons of Nicaea are the only canons recognized by the Catholic Church, and that any which dissent from them or which have been composed by heretics are *ipso facto* rejected; he adds that heretical canons must not be appended to orthodox.[47] In the East the canons of Antioch had simply been added to those of Nicaea to form part of a single code of canon law with consecutive numeration,[48] in much the same way as in the West the canons of Serdica were added to those of Nicaea (as they are in the Chieti manuscript where the Serdican canons run on after the Nicene without any break or scribal comment) so

[47] Palladius, Dial. de Vita Joh. Chrys. ix (ed. Coleman-Norton, p. 52), mentions Theophilus's appeal to the Antiochene canons. For Innocent's protest see ibid. iii (p. 17); the full text of Innocent's letter to the clergy and people of Constantinople in Sozomen, H.E. viii.26.7–18.

[48] Act. Chalc. xii.24–5 cites the 16th and 17th canons of Antioch as "canons 95 and 96" (A.C.O. II.i.407); xviii.9–10 cites the 4th and 5th canons of Antioch as "canons 83 and 84" (A.C.O. II.i.459–60). These and other examples are collected by Schwartz, Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung, art. cit. (above, n. 46), p. 1.

that in controversy with the Africans over the case of Apiarius Pope Zosimus could quote the Serdican canons as Nicene.[49] Pope Boniface probably has in mind the sixth canon of Nicaea when he affirms that Peter's church is supreme over all and that no one can be a Christian who is not in communion with Rome.[50] It was especially important for the Roman Church to exploit the sixth canon in its war against the pretensions of Constantinople.[51] To be really effective for this purpose, however, the wording of the canon needed minor alterations at the start.

The notion that the sixth canon was interested in Rome as such first appears in Rufinus's summary: "Et ut apud Alexandriam vel in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo seruetur, quia uel ille Aegypti uel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat."[52] Rufinus assumes that the Nicene fathers were somehow concerned to specify the scope of Rome's patriarchal authority, and therefore defined the area as the ten "suburbicarian" provinces of central and southern Italy with Sicily and Sardinia. He drops any reference to Libya and the Pentapolis. There is not a word about Antioch. The original context of the canon has been forgotten.

A much more dramatic modernization of the canon appears in the form quoted by Leo's legate, Paschasinus of Lilybaeum, in his protest at the last session of the Council of Chalcedon.[53] The wording of the first sentence of the sixth canon is identical with that of the Chieti manuscript (above, p. 181). Here again the original reference to Libya and the Pentapolis has wholly disappeared, and any real interest in the scope of Alexandrian jurisdiction has fallen by the wayside. The canon has been redrafted to

[49] For Apiarius and the consequences of his moral obliquities see B. J. Kidd, History of the Church to A.D. 461, iii, pp. 162 ff.

[50] Boniface, Ep. xiv.1 (P.L. xx.777 B): "Institutio uniuersalis nascentis ecclesiae de beati Petri sumpsit honore principium, in quo regimen eius et summa consistit. Ex eius enim ecclesiastica disciplina per omnes ecclesias, religionis iam crescente cultura, fonte manauit. Nicaenae synodi non aliud praecepta testantur, adeo ut non aliquid super eum ausa sit constituere, cum uideret nihil supra meritum suum posse conferri; omnia denique huic nouerat domini sermone concessa. Hunc ergo ecclesiis toto orbe diffusis uelut caput suorum certum est esse membrorum; a quo se quisquis abscidit, fit christianae religionis extorris, cum in eadem non coeperit esse compage."

[51] See especially Leo's letters of 22 May 452 addressed to Marcian, Pulcheria, and Anatolius (Epp. 104–106).

[52] Rufinus, H.E. x.6 (ed. Mommsen, pp. 966 f.).

[53] Above, n. 28.

meet Rome's urgent needs in the different circumstances of a later time, when the Petrine primacy over the whole Church has become integral to the program, and the sacred Council of the 318 fathers must give its sanction. Damasus had observed that the primacy of Rome was not dependent upon any conciliar decisions, but upon (a) the TV ES PETRVS, and (b) the martyrdom in Rome of St. Peter and St. Paul.[54] The revision of the Nicene canon in the Roman interest does not make the Nicene fathers *award* authority to Rome. Rather do they recognize that Rome "has always had the first place" (Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatus).

At Nicaea in 325 the Roman primacy was not an issue, and it would be anachronistic to expect any reference thereto. Nor were the bishops interested in defining Rome's patriarchate in Italy. The Western representation at the Council was in any event so absurdly small that it is inconceivable that the Council should have attempted to regulate the affairs of the Western churches.[55] The existence of Rome's supra-provincial standing in Italy is simply taken for granted because it justifies the continuance of comparable powers in the see of Alexandria. The vagueness of the clause concerning Antioch shows that in Syria no serious controversy had as yet arisen. The canon is only explicit and decisive in its ruling about Alexandrian jurisdiction extending over Libya and the Pentapolis. These powers were evidently being disputed by somebody, and it is conventional to assume that it was the Melitian schism which constituted a challenge to the authority of Alexander of Alexandria and so called forth the reassertion of his traditional powers.[56] But the Melitian schism was confined to

[54] The text of Damasus's statement is printed in Turner's Monumenta, i.157, in J. T. S. i (1900), p. 560, and in E. von Dobschütz, Das Decretum Gelasianum (Texte und Untersuchungen xxxviii.4, 1912), p. 7.

[55] The only certainties are Ossius the Spaniard, the two Roman presbyters representing Silvester, a couple of bishops from Dacia and one from Moesia. A rather improbable Calabrian and Caecilian of Carthage appear in some less trustworthy lists. Caecilian, of course, may well have been there — at least the Council of Carthage in 419 thought he was present and Donatism would not keep him at home. His successor Gratus was able to go to Serdica. Caecilian's troubles at home would have given him good reason to make (at imperial expense) a journey that would again bring him into direct touch with Constantine to whose support he owed so much.

[56] William Bright, The Canons of the first four General Councils with Notes[2]

Egypt and the Thebais; there is no evidence that the Pentapolis was involved.[57] It seems altogether more probable that the canon was directed against a move on the part of the Libyan metropolis to be free of Alexandrian control.

Little is known of the date of Diocletian's reform of the provincial organization of the Empire; it seems likely that the splitting up of the provinces was not carried out all at once, like the establishment of the four prefectures and the twelve dioceses, but went forward gradually. Egypt he divided into three provinces, while Libya, at first left undivided, was later split into two. The Verona list which, at least in its catalogue for the diocese Oriens, seems to reflect the situation of about 320, begins with the 18 provinces constituting Oriens. The first five are: "Libia superior, Libia inferior, Thebais, Aegyptus Iulia, Aegyptus Herculia."[58] According to Ammianus,[59] the splitting of Libya into two was not original, but followed later. Until Diocletian Libya had been separately administered; but the creation of the diocese Oriens under the *comes Orientis* at Antioch linked the Pentapolis more closely with Egypt. At the same time the rise, in the last years of the third century, of the idea that the bishop of the provincial metropolis was *primus inter pares*, would have encouraged the spirit of ecclesiastical autonomy. We have other examples in the fourth and fifth centuries where the splitting of a secular province carried ecclesiastical consequences, with a corresponding multiplication of metropolitans. The best known example is the division of Cappadocia under Valens in 372 which resulted in the successful assertion of metropolitical rights by Anthimus of Tyana against the claims of Basil of Caesarea to continue his jurisdiction over the entire region as hitherto.[60] It is not therefore unreasonable to

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(Oxford, 1892), p. 22; Kidd, op. cit., ii, p. 46; A. H. M. Jones, Constantine and the Conversion of Europe (London, 1948), p. 170.

[57] See the list of Melitian clergy given to Alexander of Alexandria, preserved by Athanasius, Apol. c. Arianos 71. There are nine from Thebais, twenty-five from Aegyptus, and a few presbyters and deacons actually at Alexandria.

[58] The Laterculus Veronensis is printed by Seeck in his edition of the Notitia Dignitatum, and its evidence discussed by A. H. M. Jones, "The Date and Value of the Verona List," in Journal of Roman Studies, xliv (1954), pp. 21–29.

[59] Amm. Marc. xxii.16.4.

[60] Cf. Basil, Ep. 98. That the first sentence of the sixth canon is directed against a division consequent upon Diocletian's splitting of Egypt into provinces is already

conjecture that at Ptolemais there may have been some attempt to assert ecclesiastical independence. There is no actual evidence for this during the period of the Nicene Council. But there is the testimony of Synesius a century later that in the Pentapolis in his time the churches were still anxious to affirm their privileges. Synesius, pressed by the people of Ptolemais to become their bishop, was determined not to fall foul of Theophilus of Alexandria, and became virtually Theophilus's agent in Cyrenaica,[61] acting throughout as a loyal and devoted servant and so little prepared to challenge any decision that at Ptolemais they reproached him for failing to uphold "the metropolitical rights of the city."[62] He admits himself to be an innocent in all matters of canon law, being only a recent convert.[63] Probably the citizens of the Pentapolis were disappointed in him for his reluctance to affirm the prestige of his metropolitan city. Synesius's open letter to his brother, declaring the terms on which he is accepting the bishopric, indicates that he will on no account become the target for Theophilus's attack.[64] His 76th letter shows that he feels unable to proceed to the consecration of a village bishop without the written mandate of Theophilus.

But in Synesius's time Ptolemais was already in decline under the stress of barbarian raids, and its economic condition became disastrous with a failure in the water supply. During the fifth century much of the population moved out, and also, it appears, the secular administration, since in the sixth century the metropolis is now Sozusa.[65] Justinian did much to restore the Pentapolis and rebuilt the aqueduct at Ptolemais.[66] It is, of course, very possible that Justinian's activities in Cyrenaica were accompanied by efforts on the part of the Patriarch of Constantinople to re-

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seen by Schwartz, Zur Geschichte des Athanasius VIII, in Gesammelte Schriften iii (1959), pp. 213 f.; J. Gaudemet, L'église dans l'empire romain (Paris, 1958), p. 91.

[61] Synesius, Ep. 67 init. (P.G. lxvi.1412 A) addressing Theophilus: "It is my personal wish, and a divine necessity is upon me, that I should deem as law any instruction from your throne."

[62] Ep. 66 (1409 B).

[63] Ep. 66 (1409 A).

[64] Ep. 105.

[65] Sozusa is mentioned first of the cities of the Pentapolis by Hierocles, Synecdemus (ed. Honigmann, pp. 47–48), copied by Georgius Cyprius, Descriptio Orbis Romani, ed. Gelzer (Leipzig, Teubner, 1890), p. 41.

[66] Procopius, Aedif. vi.2.9–11.

kindle the spirit of autonomy and to wean the Pentapolis from any dependence on Alexandria. But I know of no evidence to this effect, and the silence of the sources precludes any continuation of the story. The one and only scrap of evidence which might conceivably bear on the point is an inscription of the sixth century from the Cathedral at Cyrene, recently found by R. G. Goodchild in the course of excavation for the Libyan Government's Department of Antiquities, which I am allowed to use through the kindness of Miss Joyce Reynolds, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. She reads the inscription as

ΝΕΑΡΩΜΗΚΤΡΗΝΗ

(MHK being in ligature). Does this mean that the patriarch of Constantinople sent some substantial benefaction for the cathedral fabric at Cyrene? If so, were there strings attached?

III

The question remains: how immediately effective was the sixth canon in bringing the Libyans to heel? Secundus and Theonas may have gone into exile for a time. But Constantine did not (it seems) allow Athanasius to replace them — just as he did not allow any successor to be appointed at Alexandria when Athanasius himself was exiled to Trier at the end of 335.[67] Constantine always hoped for submission, and he was usually right. There was therefore no difficulty about reinstating Secundus and Theonas in their sees after their submission. The date of their restoration is wholly unknown;[68] but probability favors the view that their return was quite soon, perhaps about 327–8. It was certainly earlier than the Jerusalem dedication of September 335 when the inferior clergy of Alexandria, once associated with Arius, were reconciled.[69]

It is conceivable that until the Council of Tyre in 335 Athana-

[67] See the letter from Constantine II to Alexandria in Athanasius, Apol. c. Arianos 87. For the date cf. W. Telfer, H. T. R., xliii (1950), pp. 59–60.

[68] Philostorgius, H.E. ii.1, records the fact that Constantine ordered the recall of *τοὺς περὶ Σεκοῦνδον* but gives no hint of the date. Athanasius, Ep. ad episc. Aeg. et Lib. 7 and 19, likewise records Secundus's reconciliation, but not its occasion.

[69] The Jerusalem encyclical in Athanasius, Apol. c. Arianos 84 and de Synodis 21, addressed to the churches of Alexandria, Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, mentions the restoration of the Arian "presbyters," but there is no word about any bishops.

sius may have accepted Secundus at Ptolemais, but if so coexistence must have been very uneasy. The breach must have become absolute in the summer of 337 when, while Athanasius was still at Trier, Secundus consecrated the (ex-)Arian presbyter Pistus as bishop of Alexandria in place of Athanasius.[70] The very act of consecrating a bishop for Alexandria in itself marks the ambitions of the metropolitan of Ptolemais. But Pistus was not equal to the situation, and Athanasius's return from exile made his position impossible. In 339 the Eusebians sent another candidate for the see of Alexandria, Gregory, who was consecrated at Antioch and enthroned at Alexandria by force in the spring of 339 when Athanasius fled to Rome. Of Secundus's relations with Gregory we know nothing. Presumably his position was secure, and Gregory had enough to worry about at home without trying to control distant Libya. Gregory's death after a long illness on 26 June 345 and the eventual return of Athanasius in October 346[71] must have led to extreme tension for Secundus. Since Secundus appears to have survived, we must suppose either that he withdrew for a time or that Constantius did not allow Athanasius to interfere with Libyan affairs. Athanasius, of course, never grants that the Pentapolis falls outside his jurisdiction. The encyclical of the Council of Alexandria of 338 is not only written in the name of "Egypt, Thebais, Libya and Pentapolis," but also subjoins a document signed by some from Libya and the Pentapolis as well as from Egypt which proves the falsity of charges against Athanasius accepted by the Council of Tyre.[72] In his transcript of the encyclical letter of the Western Council of Serdica, the address bears the title to the "bishops of Egypt and Libya."[73] On his return in 346 Athanasius held a synod of 94 bishops at Alexandria which signed the Serdican encyclical. Of these at least one came from Marmarica, and others are possible holders of Libyan sees.[74] Elsewhere Athanasius remarks that the number of sees in Egypt and Libya totals "nearly a hundred";[75] the phrase is unhappily too vague to

[70] Julius of Rome in Athanasius, Apol. c. Arianos 24.
[71] The dates are recorded in the Festal Index for Athanasius's Festal Letters.
[72] Athanasius, Apol. c. Arianos 3 and 19.
[73] Ibid. 41.
[74] Ibid. 49 (with the commentary thereon in Opitz's edition).
[75] Ibid. 1 and 71. Cf. Ep. ad Afros 10 ("about 90").

be the basis of any calculation about the number of absentees, but it allows us to suppose that some bishops from the Pentapolis stayed away. It is noteworthy that the Festal Index records a visitation in the Pentapolis in 331–332. But we do not read of any episcopal appointments made by Athanasius for the Pentapolis; his letter to Serapion of Thmuis written from Rome in 340 nominates one bishop for the see of Garyathis in Marmarica.[76] But we have too little of Athanasius's correspondence for any real conclusions to be drawn from the phenomena. Some Marmaricans attended the Council of Alexandria in 362.[77]

In 356 the flight of Athanasius into the desert and the advent of the advanced Arian, George of Cappadocia, as bishop of Alexandria, would again have meant power for Secundus. Athanasius paints a horrific picture of the violent persecution of the orthodox in Egypt and in Libya while the soldiers were hunting for him.[78] He relates that Secundus, abetted by one Stephen, not merely kicked to death a recalcitrant presbyter of Barka, but even committed this outrage during the holy season of Lent.[79] He also mentions a certain Sisinnius as the leader of a group of young Arians who have obtained possession of the Libyan churches.[80] The last we hear of Secundus is that he and Serras, the bishop of Paraetonium in Marmarica, tried to consecrate the radical Arian Aetius to the episcopate (presumably as part of their program of filling Libyan sees with sound men), but Aetius refused on the ground that Secundus's hands were defiled: his allegiance to the true faith had been fatally compromised by his submission to the Nicene formula under Constantine.[81] It is an ironic conclusion to a strange career.

The date of Secundus's death is not known exactly, but must have been approximately 357. He had certainly died before 359. At Seleucia in 359 the bishop of Ptolemais was Stephen, perhaps

[76] Migne, P.G. xxvi.1414 A.

[77] Athanasius, Tomus ad Antioch. 1 and 10.

[78] Historia Arianorum 51 ff.

[79] Ibid. 65; cf. de Synodis 12.

[80] Historia Arianorum 71.

[81] Philostorgius, H.E. iii.19 (cf. Sozomen, H.E. iv.12.2, for independent attestation of this puritan attitude of Aetius). Philostorgius (iii.20) goes on to say that it was Secundus who had introduced Eunomius to Aetius. He also remarks (ii.3) that Secundus's theology was more purely Eunomian than that of Arius himself.

to be identified with the Stephen who assisted him in the violent coercion of the poor presbyter of Barka. The bishops of Libya at Seleucia seem to have been determinedly Arianizing. The group led by George of Alexandria and Acacius of Caesarea included not only Stephen of Ptolemais, but also Heliodorus of Sozusa, two bishops from Marmarica, Serapion of Antipyrgos and Polydeuces of an unnamed see, and also Serras of Paraetonium on the Marmarican frontier.[82] Almost all these names recur in the list of those who attended the enthronement of Eudoxius as bishop of Constantinople in 360.[83] Heliodorus of Sozusa, Stephen of Ptolemais, and Serras of Paraetonium soon became involved in the split within the radical Arian party caused by the emperor's demand for the condemnation of Aetius. The three Libyans refused to assent to this abandonment of their friend, and joined with the Eunomian group in attempting to establish a distinct Arian Church.[84]

The return of Athanasius to Alexandria during the sixties meant that he could at long last set about the restoration of orthodoxy in the Pentapolis. Evidently it was about this time that he translated the orthodox Siderius to the metropolitan see of Ptolemais. Thereafter the Libyan churches must gradually have been recaptured for the Nicene faith and for Alexandrian jurisdiction.[85] The rigorous control exercised by Theophilus is clear from the letters of Synesius. In the time of Cyril the bishop of Ptolemais, Euoptios, was his devoted adherent and gave the patriarch faithful support at Ephesus in 431. It was to him that Cyril dedicated his answer to Theodoret's attack upon his Twelve Chapters.[86] Ptolemais ended in sad economic decline, but at least it was now orthodox.[87]

[82] Epiphanius, Panarion 73.26 (ed. Holl, iii.300 f.). Stephen and Heliodorus also turn up in the Historia Acephala 13–14 (Turner, Monumenta I, pp. 667 f.).

[83] Chronicon Paschale, P.G. xcii.736 (in Bidez's edition of Philostorgius, pp. 244 f.).

[84] Synodical letter to George of Alexandria in Theodoret, H.E. ii.28.3.

[85] Cf. Epiphanius, Panarion lxviii.1 (ed. Holl, iii.141): "It is customary that the archbishop in Alexandria has ecclesiastical control over all Egypt and Thebais, Mareotis, Libya, Ammoniake, Mareotis (*read* Marmarica), and Pentapolis."

[86] Migne, P.G. lxxvi.385; A.C.O. I.i. 6, p. 110.

[87] The only evidence of later tension between Libya and the Alexandrian patriarch is the charge against Dioscorus at Chalcedon in 451 that he had not allowed the Libyan churches their share of the government grant of corn (A.C.O. II.i.213). It is likely that this was also a source of trouble in the time of Athanasius (cf. Apol. c. Ar. 18).

PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

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IN Anglo-Saxon as in Christian history, many roads lead to Rome. This has been correctly and at times overemphasized in matters ranging from Augustine to Whitby, from numismatics to law, from banners to Bede. Indeed the Roman road has been so broad and so well marked with recorded *miliaria* that we may have missed the growth-ridden Germanic by-paths which were actually trod by the tribes in England. But surely the impact of culture on cult is as important in history as the reverse, and the terms in which the newly converted Anglo-Saxons interpreted the Christian religion were shaped by the tribal culture, impregnated, as it was, by the heathenism of the old religion. Gregory the Great's famous letter to the Abbot Mellitus,[1] advising that pagan temples in England be used for the worship of the Christian God that the people "ad loca quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat," and that the sacrificial animals of heathenism be now devoted to Christian festivals, agrees with the *responsa* of the same pope to Augustine concerning the choosing of local customs best suited to the conditions of the converted.[2] In a way, this study is a scandalous footnote to that wise anthropological advice, with the intention of setting forth some of the similarities of the old and new religion which allowed a syncretic merging. Thus many features of the Conversion period which have been interpreted *post eventum* as Christian were undoubtedly seen with other — and familiar — overtones by the Woden-sprung rulers and their people.

In the first place, although the Conversion of England transpired

[1] Ven. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, I, 30.

[2] Ibid., I, 27; on the genuineness of the *responsa*, cf. Wilhelm Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford, 1946), p. 17, n. 1; W. J. Moore, The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1937), p. 9, n. 3. M. Deanesly and P. Grosjean, "The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St. Augustine," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, X (1959), pp. 1–49, have recently examined the arguments against the authenticity and have concluded that, within limited distinctions not touching the *responsa* cited above, "the *libellus* may be held to be Gregorian."

with little violence and few dramatic stands by organized heathenism, the opposition of tradition and embedded culture can be seen as the chief bulwarks against the triumph of the Cross. It is not merely that the new theology was translated into terms of northern life, with "the Chief of princes, the Ruler of all peoples" giving *mund* to his *fyrd* from his high-seat in the wine-hall of Heaven,[3] as Christ on earth had summoned his thanes to him.[4] This often startling imagery has frequently been commented upon, and I have no desire to do so again.

But heathenism itself continued. In Kent King Eadbald, son of the converted Aethelberht, returned to the older faith, leading his people *ad priorem vomitum*.[5] There is no evidence that it was outlawed in Kent until A.D. 640, when King Eorcenberht, Aethelberht's grandson, "was the first of the kings of the English who ordered by his supreme authority that the idols in his whole realm be abandoned and destroyed."[6] In the last surviving Kentish law code, dating from the very end of the century, it is still necessary for King Wihtred to forbid both freemen and slaves from making offerings to devils.[7] In the realm of the East Saxons, the three sons of King Sabert, all of whom had remained pagan, "gave free licence to the people subject to them to worship idols" after their father's death, and, Bede tells us, the people could not be recalled to faith in Christ even after Sabert's sons had been killed in battle against the West Saxons.[8] The apostasy of Redwald of East Anglia, the fourth of Bede's *bretwaldas*, is perhaps too well known to cite, with his attempt to serve both Christ and the old gods.[9] In

[3] See, e.g., Christ, 514; Christ and Satan, 93, 219, 309; The Lord's Prayer II, 47–48. Line references to Anglo-Saxon poems throughout this paper are, unless otherwise stated, from The Anglo-Saxon Records (ed. Krapp and Dobbie; New York, 1931–1953). Cf. Jean I. Young, "Glaed waes ic gliwum — Ungloomy Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies, ed. by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins; Cambridge, 1950), p. 276.

[4] "The mighty Lord, / The Prince of splendour, summoned His thanes, / The well-loved band, to Bethany": Christ, transl. in C. W. Kennedy, Early English Christian Poetry (New York, 1952), p. 98. Christ, 456–458.

[5] Bede, Hist. Eccl., II, 5.

[6] Ibid., III, 8.

[7] Wihtred c. 12, 13: F. L. Attenborough, The Laws of the Earliest English Kings (Cambridge, 1922), p. 26; cf. p. 3 for dating of code.

[8] Bede, Hist. Eccl., II, 5.

[9] Ibid., II, 15.

Wessex, the earliest law code, that of King Ine, a contemporary of Wihtred of Kent, does not legislate against heathenism, but, as Miss Whitelock has recently reminded us,[10] this proves nothing about the latter's survival, since we have these laws only in Alfred's edition of them. Mercia, of course, remained staunchly heathen at least until Penda's death in 654.[11]

Even before the reintroduction of paganism by the Viking invasions, the synod of Clovesho in 747 and the legatine report to Pope Hadrian in 786 give evidence of the strength of a continuing paganism.[12] The numerous references to heathen practices in Anglo-Saxon laws after the invasions — under Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Aethelred the Redeless, and Cnut — as well as in canonical collections[13] stem undoubtedly largely from their reintroduction in an age when, as Pope Formosus wrote to the bishops of the English in the 890s, "the abominable rites of the pagans have sprouted again in your parts."[14] However much the merging of the two strands complicates the problem of survival,[15] the latter is well attested — perhaps especially in the Anglo-Saxon charms[16] — and the resulting syncretism at times makes for a virtual neo-polytheism. "Woden wrought idols; the Lord wrought the spacious skies," says a gnomic poem.[17] That the culture of the tribes and the old religion which helped form it in their turn shaped Christianity, which was assimilated to them, is in its principle surprising to no historian of the Conversion

[10] Dorothy Whitelock, ed., English Historical Documents c. 500–1042 (London, 1955), p. 331. This volume has been used for many sources in this paper because of its convenience to most readers.

[11] This is true even though one may hesitate to accept T. C. Lethbridge's explanation that this was probably the kingdom in which "the race of Angles remained relatively free from a large admixture of British blood"; T. C. Lethbridge, Merlin's Island (London, 1948), p. 129.

[12] Whitelock, op. cit., pp. 75, 772.

[13] References are collected in F. Grendon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXII (1909), pp. 140–142.

[14] Whitelock, op. cit., p. 820.

[15] In Wulfstan's "Sermon to the English," probably preached in 1014, for example, in discussing the presence of "wizards and sorceresses" in England, he uses the word "valkyries" for the latter but apparently not in the customary Scandinavian sense of the term; ibid., p. 859 and n. 1.

[16] F. Grendon, op. cit., pp. 123, 134; G. Storms, Anglo-Saxon Magic (The Hague, 1948), esp. pp. 27–48, 114–115, and, for the Christianization of the charms, 115–117. Cf. the recorded forfeiture of an estate in the late tenth century because of the practice of witchcraft: Whitelock, op. cit., p. 519.

[17] Maxims II, 132–133.

period. As a result, the societal emphases in Anglo-Saxon Christianity may themselves be a test of the vexed problem of Anglo-Saxon paganism's similarities to the religion of early Scandinavia, that "womb of nations," as Jordanes calls it. As a matter of fact, the Sutton Hoo finds have revealed hitherto unsuspected connections between at least the East Anglian royal house and the Uppland district of Sweden.[18]

Although no Anglo-Saxon work gives us full information on pre-Christian religion in England, almost no poem from before the Norman Conquest, no matter how Christian its theme, is not steeped in it,[19] and the evidences for pagan survivals and their integration into the new faith go beyond even the literary sources. Thus, as Lethbridge reminds us, "to say, 'this is a monument erected in Christian times and therefore the symbolism on it must be Christian,' is an unrealistic approach. The rites of the older faith, now regarded as superstition, are practised all over the country today. It did not mean that people were not Christian; but that they could see a lot of sense in the old beliefs also."[20] The rites of pre-Saxon gods in England, such as Helith at Cerne Abbas and Gourmaillon at Wandlebury, survived the coming of both the Anglo-Saxons and Christianity,[21] and the Germanic precursors of the Christian God seem to have been no less vigorous. We shall examine this continuity from paganism to Christianity primarily in two areas, theology and kingship, in relation to the heavenly and earthly leaders of the *folc*.

The importance of Woden for both is proverbial. The genealogies of the royal houses of Kent, Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, Bernicia, Deira, and Lindsey all record the descent of their kings from Woden. The kings of Essex trace their lineage from Seax-

[18] F. P. Magoun, Jr., "Beowulf and King Hygelac in the Netherlands," English Studies, XXXV (1954), pp. 203–204; for an extensive bibliography of Swedish-East Anglian connections, cf. Prof. Magoun's review of D. Whitelock's The Beginnings of English Society in Speculum, XXVIII (1953), p. 220.

[19] Cf., e.g., Friedrich Brincker, Germanische Altertümer in dem angelsächsischen Gedichte "Judith" (Hamburg, 1898), p. 5, where this point is insisted upon, and passim.

[20] Lethbridge, Gogmagog. The Buried Gods (London, 1957), p. 136.

[21] Ibid., esp. pp. 23, 81–82, 159 (in which the imaginative author tells of a May 1st night spent looking in vain for still surviving rites at the head of the fertile Cerne Giant); cf. also Lethbridge, "The Anglo-Saxon Settlement in Eastern England. A Reassessment," Dark Age Britain. Studies Presented to E. T. Leeds (D. B. Harden, ed.; London, 1956), p. 119.

neat, a god known among the Saxons of the Continent, identified both as a son of Woden and as the god Tiw (Tyr); only the Sussex royal genealogy is not known but there is little reason to believe that it too was not Woden-sprung.[22] Divine descent was a claim of Northern royalty, including that of the Angli, before the settlement of England,[23] and its continuation along with that of the Woden-cult is to be expected among a people which continued to identify itself by its ancestry. The importance of such divine descent for Germanic kings is testified to not only by the persistence with which it was clung to even after their conversion but by the results of its loss; "scarce one of the ancient royal kindreds survives," Alcuin writes, "and by as much as their lineage is uncertain, by so much is their power enfeebled."[24] The name of Woden continued in England in the "Nine Herbs Charm" and in place-names such as Wansdyke (Woden's Dyke), but of more importance to us is the assimilation of his cult to the new religion, since the culture of Woden-sprung kings and Woden-worship did not allow the name or cult to perish. Indeed, even his animals — the wolf and the raven — apparently continue in a sacral manner.[25]

As might be expected, he was, in the first place, equated with the Christian Devil. Wansdyke, the great pre-Saxon earthwork, for example, was also known after the introduction of Christianity as the Devil's Ditch, and local tradition maintained in time that it was built by the Devil on a Wednesday — which is, of course, Woden's day.[26] The burial-mound on the Wiltshire downs known

[22] Whitelock, op. cit., pp. 12–13, with collected references on p. 12, n. 11; for recent and useful discussions, cf. Gordon Copley, The Conquest of Wessex in the Sixth Century (London, 1954), pp. 38–39, 40 (references in Bede), 134 (Woden in the West Saxon king-lists); E. Philippson, Die Genealogie der Götter in Germanischer Religion, Mythologie, und Theologie (Urbana, Ill., 1953), pp. 34 (Seaxneat), 88, n. 152 (bibliography); K. Sisam, "Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies," Proceedings of the British Academy, XXXIX (1953), pp. 288, 293, 309–314, 323.

[23] H. Munro Chadwick, The Origin of the English Nation (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 300–303.

[24] Letter to Eanbald of York; cf. Bishop Daniel's letter to Boniface, 719–722 A.D. J. E. A. Jolliffe, The Constitutional History of Medieval England (New York, 1947), p. 44.

[25] Brincker, op. cit., p. 6; Ladislaus Mittner, Wurd. Das Sakrale in der Altgermanischen Epik (Bern, 1955), p. 59.

[26] L. V. Grinsell, The Ancient Burial-Mounds of England (2nd ed.; London, 1953), pp. 72, 79. For other place-names containing forms of Woden's name, cf. Bruce Dickins, "English Names and Old English Heathenism," Essays and Studies, XIX (1934), pp. 154–155.

in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle[27] as Woden's Barrow became in time called Adam's Grave, although whether this Christianization took place in our period or later is now impossible to say. Certainly many pre-Christian barrows became associated with the Devil, showing a conversion of these sites from the gods of paganism. Post-Conquest though some of these may be, others date from Saxon times, as the *Scuccan hlaew* (the Devil's barrow) of Anglo-Saxon land-charters.[28] As the gods — Woden or others — were metamorphosed into giants, barrows were named for them, evidence for which dates from Saxon times,[29] but their association with Woden is at the most tenuous.

Much more significant is the equating of Woden with Christ. In the much discussed Anglo-Saxon "Nine Herbs Charm" the Christian emendator of an originally pagan charm against poison has added that the nine herbs, whose virtues are extolled in the charm, were invented by Christ while He hung on the Cross. "They were created by the wise Lord, holy in heaven as He hung (on the cross); He set and sent them to the seven worlds, to the wretched and the fortunate, as a help to all." Then the older god appears: "These nine have power against nine poisons. A worm came crawling, it killed nothing. For Woden took nine glory-twigs, he smote then the adder that it flew apart into nine parts."[30] Othinn, the Norse Woden, had gained knowledge of runes by sacrificing himself to himself, hanging and fasting on the World-tree, according to the Icelandic poem Havamal;[31] here, as Woden-Othinn masters the magic runes of wisdom by hanging on his Cosmic Tree, so Christ creates the magic herbs as He hung on His Tree, the Cross. Many relationships are focused here: Woden and Christ as the Hanging God; Yggdrasill the World-tree and the

[27] *Sub annis* 592 and 715. In the new edition by G. N. Garmonsway, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Everyman's Library; London, 1953), the "Christianized" form of Adam's Grave is, unfortunately, used; it is not in the Anglo-Saxon text.

[28] Grinsell, op. cit., p. 79, with examples of long and round barrows associated by tradition with the Devil.

[29] Ibid., p. 78; the twelfth century "translation" of skeletons from barrows to monasteries and into saints' relics is well recorded: ibid., pp. 80, 110.

[30] Storms, op. cit., p. 189, with Anglo-Saxon text on p. 188 and discussion of these lines on p. 195. For the parallel of Woden and the Latin Mercurius, who also created letters, cf. B. Dickins, op. cit., p. 154.

[31] Havamal 138 f.; cf. Storms, op. cit., p. 195; A. G. van Hamel, "Othinn Hanging On the Tree," Acta Philologica Scandinavica, VII (1932), pp. 261–262.

redeeming Cross; the sacrifice of Woden to himself, as the priest that offers and the victim that is offered, with the Sacrifice of Christ, the victim and the priest; the Germanic casting of lots with twigs marked by runes, reported by Tacitus (Germania, c. 10), and the casting of lots associated with the Crucifixion; the creative act in suffering and death displayed in Woden's mastery of the runes of knowledge and Christ's creation of the herbs. Although the problem of Christian influence on the Havamal is undoubtedly insoluble, the existence of Woden's association with runes in a partially Christianized charm still known among the Christian Anglo-Saxons will perhaps lead us to van Hamel's conclusion that "if a certain similarity should exist between the popular traditions of early christianity and pagan mythology, would it not be more natural to accept a fundamental affinity than a borrowing? . . . The christian God never supplanted the pagan deities. He only proved the stronger one. This is an evolution that leaves no room for the doctrine that a myth of Othinn should have been influenced by a christian legend."[32] There is at least good reason to believe that the traditions are independent; if so, this would lead a culture saturated with Woden-worship to take up with ease the cult of the new Hanging God when the old one — literally "the old one," *thonc ealdan deofol, se ealda sceocca*, as Aelfric calls the Devil[33] — proves less potent.

Furthermore, the genealogies of the Woden-sprung kings have been assimilated to Christianity. In the familiar mythical lineage of King Aethelwulf of Wessex in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sub anno* 855, Woden is sixteenth in descent from "Sceaf, who is the son of Noah and was born in Noah's Ark."[34] Appropriate as it is to have generated in the Ark one who in traditions recorded by Aethelweard and William of Malmesbury had drifted as a child in a boat to his future kingdom,[35] this "arcane" transition makes the West Saxon rulers collateral relatives, as Professor Magoun

[32] Ibid., p. 262.

[33] Nelius O. Halvorson, Doctrinal Terms in Aelfric's Homilies (Iowa City, Iowa, 1932), p. 29.

[34] Thus in MSS. B and C; the Parker Chronicle omits three generations and has Hrathra born in the Ark; cf. Sisam, op. cit., p. 315, on Bedwig as the ancestor in the Ark.

[35] Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 256–267, in which the Scyld-Sceaf traditions are analyzed, and 272–276.

has pointed out, with our Lord.[36] If I may be permitted an *excursus* into wild Wales, this has its parallel in the court-pedigree of Hywel the Good, who traced his descent from "Amalech, who was the son of Beli the Great and his mother Anna, whom they say to be the sister of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ";[37] since Anna is probably Ana or Anu, a variant of Danu, the Earth Mother, and Beli Mawr may be, but less likely, the god Belenus, our Lord would be the nephew of the Mother of the gods, and the assimilation of a royal genealogy to the new religion would indeed be analogous to the Anglo-Saxon transition.

The absorption of the other gods into Christianity can be treated more summarily. In the case of Thunor or Thor the Thunderer, we may well ask if an Anglo-Saxon warrior would react as we do to a land-grant of King Edward the Elder in A.D. 901 which opens, "In the name of the High Thunderer, Creator of the world," or a generation earlier (A.D. 872) to the phrase, "by the abundant grace of God and the gratuitous gift of him who thunders and rules."[38] As late as William of Malmesbury, Athelstan the Glorious is described as being "like a thunderbolt to rebels."[39] These, I believe, would be seen by northerners less in terms of *Jupiter Tonans* or of the "sons of thunder" of Mark's gospel and more in terms of northern religion. One of the panels of the Gosforth Cross in Cumberland has recently been interpreted as Thor's fight with the Midgard Serpent, a theme probably reintroduced during the later Norse settlement, as have three fragments of crosses in Durham Cathedral as his battle with Mökkurkalfi ("Cloud Calf").[40] Neither of these identifications can be accepted with

[36] F. P. Magoun, Jr., "King Aethelwulf's Biblical Ancestors," Modern Language Review, XLVI (1951), pp. 249–250. Luke iii, 36–38 is the suggested source for the Biblical names.

[37] A. W. Wade-Evans, Nennius's "History of the Britons" (London, 1938), p. 102; N. Chadwick, ed., Studies in Early British History (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 132, 196.

[38] Whitelock, op. cit., pp. 499, 490; cf. p. 522, a grant of 977: "inspired with speech of the Thunderer." For non-Anglo-Saxon parallels of God as "the Thunderer," cf. Hibernicus exul, MGH., Poet., I, p. 395, v. 10 ff., and Godeschalk, ibid., p. 94, no. 7 (in which the appelation refers to Christ); H. Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire (transl., P. Munz; Oxford, 1957), pp. 47–48.

[39] Ibid., p. 280.

[40] Brian Branston, The Lost Gods of England (London, 1957), pp. 116–117, 120–121. However, cf. Christabel F. Fiske, "Old English Modification of Teutonic Racial Conceptions," Studies in Language and Literature in Celebration of the 70th

certainty, however; he is, incidentally, never mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon charms,[41] but he appears perhaps more often than any other pagan deity in place-names in England.[42]

Perhaps the most puzzling parallelisms, with virtually insoluble problems, are those between the Devil and characters of northern paganism, especially Loki, to whom I shall confine myself. This, as R. E. Woolf has suggested, is partly because the Devil, like Loki, is the archetype of "motiveless malignity," partly because as the Devil is the evil-bringer, so Loki brings evil to the gods, and partly because, in more general terms, Satan as the "faithless retainer" and "eternal exile" would be understandable to Anglo-Saxon society.[43] But the analogy goes beyond this. The bound Satan of the Caedmon manuscripts has more relationship with the bound Loki and bound gods of the pagan North than with any Biblical source, in spite of the reference in Revelation (20, 2) to the bound Satan; Loki and the otter have been suggested as an interpretation of the Ramsey carving and, even more significantly, as the bound figure on the Gosforth Cross, both of the Viking Age.[44]

Two mutilated carved stones from Leeds also show a bound figure who has been suggested as Weland the Smith because of the presence of what seem to be smith's tools at its feet, although it does not fit the known versions of the Weland story. I should suggest the bound Loki, with the smith's tools as the symbols of

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Birthday of James Morgan Hart (New York, 1910), pp. 282–285, on identification of Thor with the Devil. Also, Peter Paulsen, Axt und Kreuz bei den Nordgermanen (Berlin, 1939), pp. 187–233, on relation of St. Olaf cult and Thor cult in the North.

[41] Storms, op. cit., p. 148.

[42] Branston, op. cit., p. 105; Dickins, op. cit., pp. 155–156. For the identification of eleven of his shrines in southern and eastern England, cf. Sir Frank Stenton, "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, XXIII (1940), pp. 1–24 and map.

[43] R. E. Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry," Review of English Studies, IV, N.S. (1953), pp. 2–4, 6.

[44] H. R. Ellis Davidson, "Gods and Heroes in Stone," The Early Cultures . . ., pp. 132–133; this important article, pp. 123–139, has been used as the basis for the following, even though the relationships of Christian Devil, Loki, and smith have not been fully developed in it. For the Gosforth Cross, cf. Knut Berg, "The Gosforth Cross," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXI (1958), pp. 27–43, in which the Cross panels are interpreted as scenes of Ragnarok, the twilight of the pagan gods, on three sides and the Christian rebirth and victory of the Cross on the east side; the bottom scene on the west side is interpreted as the bound Loki (p. 35).

that god; Loki, after all, is paraphrased by the later Snorri Sturluson as "Forger of Evil" and "the Bound God,"[45] and the Anglo-Saxon Guthlac describes the devils as "smiths of woe."[46] This would help to explain the puzzling presence of smith's tools on the Halton Cross from Lancashire, which, even though here probably connected either with the Sigurd or the Weland story, would have further meaning because of its presence on a Christian cross, since smith's tools are found elsewhere on scenes of the Crucifixion. These have been suggested as symbols of the tortures of Christ,[47] but I believe they are more readily explained as the triumph of Christ over the "Forger of Evil," Loki, the fettered god, and, by projection, over the bound Satan.[48] The relations of these figures to the animal-headed or bird-headed figures on the Kirklevington Cross and similar figures at the foot of a Lancaster Cross, in place of the soldiers, with its probable relationship to a group on the Franks Casket and the figure between two beasts on the purse-mount from Sutton Hoo, serve to complicate the picture with possibilities of pre-Christian ritual,[49] but the possible translation of Satan and lesser devils of Christianity into these terms remains too strong to ignore. It may simply be noted here that a devil as human form with animal characteristics — familiar to us in his horns and tail — was known to Germanic peoples before the coming of Christianity and continues in part — for example, in Aelfric's homiletic descriptions of the Devil.[50]

May I now simply list other characteristics of Anglo-Saxon paganism which were so much a part of the tribal culture and outlook that the transition to Christianity was facilitated, even though they translated the new religion into sometimes wondrous forms? The Dream of the Rood, for example, important sections of which are carved on the pre-Viking Age Ruthwell Cross (c. A.D. 700) draws almost undoubtedly in its non-Biblical portrayal of the Crucifixion upon the death of the god Baldur; here "the

[45] Skaldskaparmal, c. 16; A. G. Brodeur, transl., The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson (New York, 1916), pp. 114–115.

[46] Guthlac, 205; cf. Jean I. Young, op. cit., p. 285.

[47] Davidson, op. cit., p. 135.

[48] For the later Norse similarities between Loki and Satan, cf. E. A. Philippson, op. cit., esp. pp. 48, 56, 71, 73.

[49] Davidson, op. cit., pp. 127–129, 136–138, where these works are discussed.

[50] Halvorson, op. cit., p. 30.

young hero" mounts "the marvellous tree" and is wounded by darts: "the warriors left me standing laced with blood; I was wounded unto death with darts" — certainly an exaggeration of the spear at the Crucifixion but as Baldur was in the pagan myth, when the sport of throwing darts at him turned into the cosmic tragedy of the "bleeding god."[51] Furthermore, the same poem may relate not only Baldur to Christ but Frey as well to the Christian Lord. "Frey," which has become identified with "Lord," is used for "*the* Lord": "geseah ic tha Frean mancynnes . . ." ("I saw there the Frey of mankind"); this is found in a more general sense in Beowulf, where "frea" is used seventeen times for "lord,"[52] even though the goddess Freyja and her maidens nowhere appear to be "converted" into the Virgin Mary and three (or nine) Marys, as they are in the Scandinavian North.[53] The possibility of an early pagan trinity of gods in the North, based on the later evidence of Odin, Tyr, and Thor as a trinity, Odin, Thor, and Frey in Uppsala, and other trinities of Odin, Hönir, and Lodur (Loki), Odin, Wili, and We, and Har, Jafnhar, and Thrithi[54] would aid the assimilation of the Christian Trinity.

However, in the Anglo-Saxon world-view, the Son tends to be merged with the Father and appears often as the Creator. "When Christ, the God of heavenly hosts, the Father almighty, the radiant Creator, shall sit on his throne," states the poem Christ, ". . . then on the right hand of Christ Himself the pure people shall be gathered . . . and there the evil-doers shall be assigned to the left hand in the Creator's presence." Or again, in Christ and Satan, "Lo!," Eve says, "Thou, Lord wert born into the world by my daughter to aid men. Now is it manifest that Thou are God Himself, the eternal Author of all creatures." And in the Andreas, reference is made to "the immortal Son of God ye call man, Him who with hands wrought land and sea, heaven and earth, and the raging waves." But examples are numerous;[55] theological confu-

[51] Branston, op. cit., pp. 157–162; the use of *baldor*, "prince," in Judith relates this god to ruler-cult: Brincker, op. cit., pp. 12–13.

[52] Branston, op. cit., p. 137. Cf. Chadwick, Origin . . ., pp. 243–267, on relation of Frey, Freyja, Gefion, and the possible continuation of the cult in England.

[53] Birger Pering, Heimdall (Lund, 1941), p. 173.

[54] Philippson, op. cit., pp. 14–15, 19, 36, 42–52, 67–68, 73, 76.

[55] Christ, 1216–1227, Christ and Satan 439–440, Andreas 746–750. In the convenient ed. by R. K. Gordon, Anglo-Saxon Poetry (Everyman's Library; London,

sion reigns even more completely when the Three Persons are merged, as in the Christ: "The third leap, the bound of the heavenly King, was when He, the Father, the Comforter, was raised on the cross."[56] This is not Roman or Mediterranean in origin, but Germanic. To a people accustomed to conceiving of god or the gods as immanent in nature, this refusal to distinguish a transcendent Father from an immanent Son is perhaps not surprising. Its influence continues, as in a letter from Boniface to King Ethelbald of Mercia[57] and the dooms of Alfred the Great;[58] indeed, I should have suspected Anglo-Saxon determination in this matter in the Norman Anonymous, had not the President of the American Society of Church History removed him firmly from York to the archepiscopal palace of Rouen;[59] the Scandinavian home of the Normans, however, was also full of the creating Christ.

Parallels of Heaven and Valhöll, and of Hell and the Germanic regions of Niflhel, abound in poems such as the Anglo-Saxon Judith;[60] *wyrd*, fate, becomes Christianized among the Anglo-Saxons;[61] heavenly Grace appears in Beowulf as Christianized *mana*;[62] the monsters of paganism become absorbed into the new faith also, as Grendel turns into the seed of Cain;[63] the possibility of a Flood story in the North independent of the Christian importation of Noah's Flood appears,[64] as does the possible use of the word *husel* (related to the Gothic *hunsl*, a sacrifice) before the Conversion for a sacrificial victim and after Anglo-Saxon Chris-

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1926), pp. 171, 146, 214, respectively; other examples on pp. 144 (Christ and Satan, 201–204), 160 (Christ, 659–660), 206, 213, 215 (all from Andreas, 324–328, 700–703, 786–787). In the Gnomic Verses of the Cottonian MS., we find "God alone knows it, our Father the Savior": A. S. Cook and C. B. Tinker, Select Translations From Old English Poetry (revised ed.; Boston, 1926), p. 68; cf. pp. 80, 82–83, 87, 99, 123. A. S. Cook, "King Oswy and Caedmon's Hymn," Speculum, II (1927), p. 71, n. 2, on reference in 7th–8th century Voyage of Bran to Christ as Creator.

[56] Gordon, ed., op. cit., p. 161; Christ, 726–728.

[57] E. Emerton, tr., The Letters of St. Boniface (New York, 1940), p. 126.

[58] F. Liebermann, ed., Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen (Halle, 1903), I, pp. 26 f.

[59] George H. Williams, The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D. (Harvard Theological Studies, XVIII; Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 130.

[60] Brincker, op. cit., pp. 10–11.

[61] Mittner, op. cit., esp. pp. 85–95, 99; cf. Brincker, op. cit., p. 8.

[62] Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "On Some Survivals of Pagan Belief in Anglo-Saxon England," Harvard Theological Review, XL (1947), pp. 33–46.

[63] Beowulf, 102–108.

[64] Branston, op. cit., pp. 32, 35–37.

tianization for the sacrifice of the Mass;[65] but perhaps the point is now clear. A violent conversion to the new religion was unnecessary when the old provided so many parallelisms that the tribal culture could absorb the conquering God without disrupting many of its basic preconceptions; only in time were these to give way before an ecclesiastical conquest.

Not only in concepts of theology but in those of rulership as well was a syncretism between pagan culture and Christian cult possible, and it is to this that I turn in conclusion. At the beginning it may be well to emphasize an important point; in northern paganism, not only was Woden or Odin the god of the ruler,[66] but the ruler was the leader of the tribal cult.[67] The king's god was the people's god, and the king as *heilerfüllt* stood between his tribe and the tribal gods, sacrificing for victory and plenty, "making" the year. Tied into temporal and cosmic history by divine descent, he represented and indeed *was* the "luck" of his people. It is in this Germanic tradition that the Anglo-Saxon ruler is to be seen; "just within the shadow at which the records of English history fail," as Jolliffe says, "stands the sacrificial king."[68]

Consequently the conversion of the *folc* stemmed from the conversion of the king to the more powerful deity, since it was the king's relationship with the gods which "saved" his people as much as did the gods themselves; this royal function, when translated into Christian eschatology, was to be part of medieval rulership throughout the Middle Ages. It is this factor also that dominates the character of the Germanic conversion; inasmuch as English kings were converted without violent incident, by so much is tribal conversion without great external drama; when politico-cultural opposition is greater, as often occurred in Scandinavia, as under Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf the Holy, by so much is religious op-

[65] Halvorson, op. cit., pp. 61–62.

[66] Cf., e.g., Axel Olrik, Nordisches Geistesleben in Heidnischer und Frühchristlicher Zeit (Heidelberg, 1908), pp. 41, 96; Pering, op. cit., pp. 116–119.

[67] Hans Naumann, "Die Magische Seite des Altgermanischen Königtums und Ihr Fortwirken in Christlicher Zeit," Wirtschaft und Kultur. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Alfons Dopsch (Baden bei Wien, 1938), pp. 1–12, esp. pp. 2–3. For the role of kings in the migration period and the pre-invasion development of Anglo-Saxon kingship, cf. H. M. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 146–148, 284, 289–292, 295–303.

[68] Jolliffe, op. cit., p. 42.

position greater.[69] Thus, the new Christian God — "the Almighty, the Lord of great kings," as the Anglo-Saxon Christ calls him[70] — was seen in these terms of the god of the king, and the latter continued to "make the year." "In the king's righteousness," wrote Alcuin to King Aethelred in A.D. 793, "is the common weal, victory in war, mildness of the seasons, abundance of crops, freedom from pestilence. It is for the king to atone with God for his whole people."[71] In these Christian translations the earlier pagan "luck" of the Anglo-Saxon king is heard in not too transposed a key. The fate of the *folc* is related to the fate of its prince; "let us all in common urge the aforementioned king to reform himself with his people," wrote Boniface to the priest Herefrith concerning Aethelbald of Mercia, "that the whole nation, with its prince, may not perish here and in the future life, but that, by amending and reforming his own life, he may by his example guide his own people back to the way of salvation."[72] If the leaders do not serve God, Aelfric preaches in one of his homilies, "God will manifest to them their contempt of him either by famine or by pestilence."[73] Further, "peace and joy among the people, fruitful years, and victory over their foes" were given "by the aid of God" to King Ecgfrith and Queen Aethelthryth, rulers of Deira and Bernicia, as long as they were obedient to Bishop Wilfrid, but when the king was no longer at one with the bishop, his "luck" left him.[74] Here, of course, unlike the old religion in which there was no powerful priesthood to be equated with the Divine Will and the *principes* themselves performed priestly functions,[75] the possibility of division between two functions of the pagan Anglo-Saxon royal *persona mixta* appears, which in time will transform the Folklore Kingship of the

[69] Helmut de Boor, "Germanische und Christliche Religiosität," Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, XXXIII (1933), pp. 26–51; F. W. Buckler, "Barbarian and Greek — and Church History," Church History, XI (1942), p. 22.

[70] Christ, 941–942; Gordon, ed., op. cit., p. 166. God is often described as a king; cf. p. 316: "Then the Ruler of heaven radiant as the sun shall sit on the high throne glorified with his crown" (from Doomsday).

[71] Quoted in Jolliffe, op. cit., p. 43.

[72] Whitelock, op. cit., p. 757.

[73] Ibid., p. 853; cf. pp. 783 (letter of Alcuin to Offa of Mercia), 784 (letter of Alcuin to Eardwulf of Northumbria).

[74] Eddius Stephanus, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, c. 19 in ibid., p. 694.

[75] Naumann, op. cit., pp. 7–9.

post-Conversion period into the Liturgical Kingship of a later period. But that is another story. Suffice it here to add that apostasy from the Christian faith was regarded as bringing about the loss of kingdom and on occasion the deletion from the line of Woden-sprung monarchs who had made the proper sacrifices, in this case to the God who had conquered Woden. Thus, when Cenwealh succeeded his father, Cynegils of the West Saxons, Bede reports that he "refused to accept the faith and sacraments of the heavenly kingdom and not long after lost even the power over his earthly kingdom." When he was converted in East Anglia, however, he was restored to his realm.[76] And both Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle assign an extra year to King Oswald of Northumbria "on account of the heathen practices which had been performed by those who had reigned the one year between him and Edwin," i.e., Osric of the Deirans and Eanfrid of the Bernicians.[77] However, when Eadbald of Kent apostacized after the death of his father Aethelberht, he was not removed from the king-lists, even though his subjects followed him,[78] nor was Sighere of the East Saxons when he returned "with his part of the people" to his ancestral gods during the great plague of A.D. 664–665.[79] In both cases, however, they returned to the faith; this cannot be said, though, of Redwald of East Anglia, whose temple to the old gods, whom he worshipped along with Christ, was still remembered in Bede's day,[80] and who was still listed as a *bretwalda*. Thus, while the tribal culture was still strong enough after the Conversion to bring royal apostacy, both the old and the new religions related the fate of the kingdom to the cult of the king.

It is, consequently, not surprising that the old concept of the king as bringer of victory also continues. The Christian God, "king of victories," gave triumph to the earthly rulers who served

[76] Bede, Hist. Eccl., III, 7. Later also, when his kingdom lacked a bishop, "he understood that a province forsaken by its prelate was rightfully forsaken also by divine help."

[77] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sub anno* 634 (MS. E); Bede, Hist. Eccl., III, 1, which adds that the British King Cadwallon slew them both without delay *iusta ultione*. Peter Hunter Blair, "The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian History," The Early Cultures . . ., pp. 248–249, discusses this and suggests Anglo-Saxon familiarity with the Roman custom of *damnatio memoriae*.

[78] Bede, Hist. Eccl., II, 5; A.-S. Chronicle *sub anno* 616.

[79] Bede, Hist. Eccl., III, 30.

[80] Ibid., II, 15.

him, as Edwin, for example, "in omen of his receiving the faith and the heavenly kingdom, received increased power also in his earthly dominion."[81] Aelfric cites Alfred, Athelstan, and Edgar as three kings victorious through the help of God,[82] and many battles are won by Christian kings "Christ aiding."[83] On the other hand, in a British source, Nennius reports that the pagan Penda of Mercia "was victorious (at Maserfelth) by diabolical agency."[84] So much is the royal person associated with victory in battle and royal devotion to God or the gods a part of maintaining the kingdom's "luck" that Sigbert, King of the East Angles, who had retired to a monastery, was forced to come forth to lead the *fyrd* into battle against Penda; however, "ipse professionis suae non immemor," he — like the priests of Anglo-Saxon paganism — refused to carry a weapon but, with only a little rod in his hand, went into battle and was slain.[85]

The frequent examples of sainthood bestowed upon kings who die violent deaths may well be regarded as a Christian substitute for the ritual king-slaying of paganism. Not only were northern kings sacrificed to get good crops, as the Ynglingar Domaldi and Olaf Tretelgia of Sweden,[86] but kings were worshipped after their death.[87] So in England kings such as Edwin and Egfrid of Northumbria and Edmund of East Anglia, who fell in battle against the heathen, Oswini of Deira, who was murdered by King Oswiu, Aethelberht of East Anglia, beheaded by Offa of Mercia, and others who died unjust and violent deaths become popular saints.[88]

[81] Ibid., II, 9.

[82] From Judges; Whitelock, op. cit., p. 854.

[83] E.g., A.-S. Chronicle *sub anno* 937 at Brunanburh; at Ashdown in 871 A.D. Aethelred remained praying at Mass — occupying himself with *blot* — and refusing to leave for the battle until worship was concluded, and "the faith of the Christian king availed him much with God": Florence of Worcester, Chronicon ex Chronicis (Rolls Series), I, p. 83.

[84] Wade-Evans, op. cit., p. 83.

[85] Bede, Hist. Eccl., III, 18.

[86] Ynglingasaga, c. 18 and 47; H. M. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 236, 301–302; Andrew Rugg-Gunn, Osiris and Odin. The Origin of Kingship (London, 1940), pp. 116–117; Vigfusson and Powell, eds., Corpus Poeticum Boreale (Oxford, 1883), I, pp. 409–410.

[87] Vigfusson and Powell, op. cit., I, pp. 414–415; H. M. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 301.

[88] A.-S. Chronicle *sub anno* 633; Bede, Hist. Eccl., IV, 26; A.-S. Chronicle *sub annis* 870, 650/651, and 792 (794), respectively. H. A. Wilson, ed., The Calendar of St. Willibrord from MS. Paris. Lat. 10837 (Henry Bradshaw Society, LV; London, 1918), dating from the first quarter of the eighth century, commemorates Edwin,

On the other hand, these early English king-saints were not represented in the early dedications of churches, which were predominantly Roman in character, except for a church of St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald near the spot where King Elfwald of Northumbria was murdered.[89] I suggest that the Church regarded it as dangerous to strengthen royal cults by official dedications of churches, in spite of its apparent blessing of these saints and the popular cult, since their localization might lead analogously to the local "high places" and sanctuaries of heathenism. In spite of the general adoption of Pope Gregory's advice, the ecclesiastical organization, wary of royal saints, preferred Roman dedications. The continuation of earlier attitudes toward ritual king-slaying is further evidenced, however, in the commemoration in an early eighth century Anglo-Saxon calendar of the very Osric of Deira who was excised from the king-lists of Northumbria for returning to the old gods;[90] his violent slaying by Cadwallon placed him, heathen though he was, among the commemorations of Christianized royal sacrificial victims, the saints. Here indeed we see the enshrinement in the new religion of kings "sacrificed" by violence, as we see the royal nature of mediatorship with God in the fact that most Anglo-Saxon saints belong to royal families.[91]

As pagan priest-kings staved off tribal calamity by offering *blot* — even themselves — to the gods, so Anglo-Saxon kings of the new dispensation ordered religious duties to be fulfilled by the *folc* for the same reason; King Edgar was the first to do so in his fourth code (A.D. 962–963), which was issued as a result of a pestilence which the king related to sin and the non-payment of tithes.[92]

Egfrid, and Oswini, besides Oswald; cf. introd., p. xxii. Another early eighth century calendar, in P. Romuald Bauerreiss, "Ein angelsächsisches Kalendarfragment des bayrischen Hauptstaatsarchivs in München," Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und Seiner Zweige, LI (1933), p. 179, commemorates Egfrid and King Osric of Deira, the latter remarkable in view of his excision from the king-lists as an apostate, slain by Cadwallon. Whitelock, op. cit., p. 31, believes the early cult of St. Edmund of East Anglia "is understandable only on the assumption that something other than his death in battle took place;" in the light of the evidence concerning Egfrid, Osric, *et al.* and the entire concept of the "sacrificed" king, I see no difficulty in this cult.

[89] Levison, op. cit., p. 36.

[90] See above, n. 88.

[91] F. Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands (Hanover, 1889), passim.

[92] A. J. Robertson, The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (Cambridge, 1925), p. 29.

Church dues were a subject of royal *dooms* previously, although never as an equivalent for *blot* to end the anger of the Deity. The dating of these ecclesiastical requirements is interesting. When the fourth *doom* of Ine of Wessex states that "Church dues shall be rendered at Martinmas,"[93] it should be noted that St. Martin's Day was (and is) November 11th, the great feast day closest to the old Winter's Day festival of November 7th, on which the king sacrificed for a good year, and that November in pagan England was *blotmonath*, the month of sacrifice.[94] The popularity of the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) is undoubtedly a continuation of the Midsummer observance of paganism.[95] Reflecting the mixed character of this dating, tithes in the second code of King Edgar are due at Pentecost, the equinox, and Martinmas.[96]

Nor do the festivals of the two religions alone relate the king to the transition from paganism to Christianity. The sacredness of the king continues in a persistent tradition of royal "divine" names, in the *character mixtus* of the English ruler, and in sanctuary connected with the king's person. Of the first, the prefix "Os-," probably signifying "divine," occurs in the names of twelve Northumbrian kings. Margaret Murray finds comfort for her theory of the Divine King in England in the fact that all but two of these died violent deaths and so are, to her, royal sacrificial victims.[97] We need not go this far, since in seventh and eighth century Northumbria, it was difficult *not* to become a royal sacrificial vic-

[93] Attenborough, op. cit., p. 37; in the Welsh laws of Hywel Dda, "every freeman between the feast of All Saints and the feast of St. Martin" — i.e., between November 1st and November 11th — "is to pay the lord what he is bound to pay": Melville Richards, The Laws of Hywel Dda (Liverpool, 1954), pp. 84, 136.

[94] On the three annual great festivals of Scandinavia, cf. H. M. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 227–228, 248, and on November as sacrificial month in England, p. 228; Jolliffe, op. cit., p. 42: "The three high feasts of English heathendom were Winter's Day (November 7), Midwinter's Day (December 25), and Summer's Day (May 7). . . . These, in the pagan North, were the great ceremonial feasts when the king sacrificed for the people, on Winter's Day for a good year, at Midwinter for good crops, and on Summer's Day for victory in battle." Cf. Vigfusson and Powell, op. cit., I, pp. 404–405, 414. Cf. Storms, op. cit., pp. 9, 90, on the blessing of herbs in Anglo-Saxon England at three Masses on Midwinter's Day.

[95] Storms, op. cit., p. 9; one only wishes one could know whether the former custom of visiting Silbury Hill in Wiltshire, the largest artificial mound in Europe, on Palm Sunday and feasting there extended back into Saxon times, if in other forms: Grinsell, op. cit., p. 81.

[96] Robertson, op. cit., p. 21.

[97] Margaret Murray, The Divine King in England (London, 1954), pp. 45–46, 218.

tim; nonetheless, the names are not without significance for the penetration of the *heilerfüllt* king of paganism into Christian times. The "Os-" prefix has also been suggested as a reminiscence of the Aesir, spirits of the North and a word applied in Icelandic to all the gods but who appear only once in Anglo-Saxon, in a charm against rheumatism, in which they are combined with elves and hags.[98] But harking back to an age when elves were larger, one may well conjecture that the syllable "Os-" rang bells in an Anglo-Saxon head that it does not in ours.

Secondly, a culture imbued with priest-kings would receive its new cult in those terms, so that the "mixed character" of the ruler would continue. It is in that light that we may see the Anglo-Saxon king speaking as a homilist, as he does in the laws, attending assemblies primarily lay, primarily clerical, and intermediate, and signing a charter at the head of the bishops and at the head of the princes.[99] The problem of the *Eigenkirche*, with the king as lay lord of monasteries, lay abbot, and perhaps even bishop (if Henry of Huntingdon is correct in describing the ninth century King Aethelwulf as Bishop of Winchester),[100] is too complicated to enter into here, but it may be regarded, I believe, as influenced by pagan background, as Stenton suggests in discussing the ownership of heathen shrines.[101]

Thirdly, the question of asylum is intimately linked with the transition from the old to the new religion in the light of tribal culture; the "peace" of certain places and the right of asylum, so common in Anglo-Saxon law, stem here not from constitutional but from sacral realms.[102] We know from Bede's story of Coifi

[98] Storms, op. cit., pp. 50, 142–143, 147; the northern smith also makes his appearance in this charm: pp. 140–141, 146–147 (in which he is related to Weland the Smith). K. Helm, Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 217.

[99] F. Liebermann, The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period (Halle, 1913), p. 17; the charter is Birch 201B.

[100] T. Arnold, ed., History of the English, by Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon (Rolls Series, LXXIV), p. 141; Corvoc was king and bishop of Ireland: J. W. Ab Ithel, ed., Brut Y Tywysogion (Rolls Series, XVII), p. 19.

[101] F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1947), pp. 101–102, 538–539; H. Boehmer, "Das Eigenkirchentum in England," Texte und Forschungen zur Englischen Kulturgeschichte (Halle, 1921), esp. pp. 338–339; Whitelock, op. cit., pp. 77, 83, 543, 719, 741–743, 764–765, 839, 852, and on Eadberht Praen, a priest who was made king in Kent, pp. 27, 794; cf. p. 246, on King Osred tonsured at York and deposed.

[102] Ortwin Henssler, Formen des Asylrechts und ihre Verbreitung bei den Germanen (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1954), pp. 54–55.

defiling the pagan temple that priests of the Angli were forbidden to carry arms and that weapons were banned from their temples, as they were in Scandinavia.[103] This priestly peace is continued in Christian times in the same area of the North in the Law of the Northumbrian Priests: "If a priest comes with weapons into the church, he is to compensate for it."[104] Icelandic saga informs us that an outlaw was not permitted by the god Frey even in the vicinity of his temple;[105] this and the early northern notion that the area surrounding the king was *mikill grithastathr* ("a place of great peace")[106] are undoubtedly based on the premise that one who enters a sacred area becomes himself *heilerfüllt*.[107] This continues in Anglo-Saxon law, where we read in IV Aethelstan 6 that "if (a thief) seeks the king, or the archbishop, or a holy church of God, he shall have respite for nine days,"[108] a royal asylum granted also in the eleventh century laws *Be Grithe and be munde*.[109] In the latter, however, this right, which is granted also to an archbishop or a prince, can be extended beyond the nine days — or rather nine nights here — by the king. In yet another law, the king's peace is said to extend from his *burh*-gate "III mila and III furlang and III aecera braede and IX fota and IX scaeftamunda and IX berecorna."[110] Here the pagan North breaks through even more; the length of a grain of barley as one of the measures of the king's *grith* combines with the number nine, found also in the other two laws of royal asylum, which is the magic number of the north, related to fertility, magic, and royal cult.[111] And with these

[103] Bede, Hist. Eccl., II, 13; cf. H. M. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 302–303; Henssler, op. cit., p. 74; Vigfusson and Powell, op. cit., I, p. 407.

[104] Whitelock, op. cit., p. 437.

[105] Bertha Phillpotts, "Germanic Heathenism," Cambridge Mediaeval History (New York, 1913), II, p. 493.

[106] H. M. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 302–303.

[107] Henssler, op. cit., pp. 71–73.

[108] Attenborough, op. cit., p. 149.

[109] Liebermann, Die Gesetze . . ., I, p. 470.

[110] From Pax, dating c. 910–c. 1060 A.D., in Liebermann, Die Gesetze . . ., I, p. 390 (with Latin text of Quadripartitus, p. 391). For *scaeftamunda*, the origin of which is unclear but which was apparently a measure of about six inches, cf. J. Bosworth and T. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Oxford, 1898), p. 821.

[111] This complicated problem, which I plan on treating elsewhere, is also related to the "Nine Herbs Charm," above, but more largely to the whole problem of the "king's number." For the ecclesiastical "mile" of asylum at Ripon and Beverley, connected with King Aethelstan, cf. Whitelock, op. cit., p. 42. Edward the Confessor's shrine granted asylum to a thief even before the king was canonized, but

overtones of sacred number, fertility cults, barley and sacrifices for good crops, sanctuary and the king's person, we must draw this to a not very Christian close.

If I plead that the break between pagan and Christian England has been overemphasized, this thesis has, of course, been put forward in extreme form by Margaret Murray in The Divine King in England; I do not myself detect covens of witches everywhere nor regard Charles I as a royal sacrificial victim of the old religion. One need not go so far, however, to see more heathenism lurking behind the manuscripts and artifacts than is visible to the twentieth century eye. To become an Anglo-Saxon, pagan or Christian, is impossible, but we divorce too much, I think, Anglo-Saxon Christianity from the culture, shaped by paganism, which formed and even warped it. Our view of both politics and religion is consequently influenced. I do not think, for example, that one can understand King Oswald, "the most holy and very victorious king of Northumberland," as Bede calls him, without considering the relation of the Cross which he erected at Rowley Water and northern pillar cult, the hand and knee as sacral objects, Germanic tree cult and its connections with Heimdall and Christ, pillars of light above Anglo-Saxon royal saints, royal protection against pestilence, division of the king's body after the battle of Maserfelth with dismemberment of kings to protect their realm, the hanging of sacrifices to Woden, King Oswald as a Bavarian and Tyrolean lord of the weather, and the raven of Woden and Oswald as a sacral bird. If only some of these make sense, a dimension is given to the wars of Northumbria and Mercia. And if, to move from example to thesis, culture and cult are related, a dimension is added in the past-enmeshed Conversion story in the transition from paganism to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England.

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then the Confessor was *heilerfüllt* almost at birth, since he was presented on the altar at Ely by his parents while still in his cradle; cf. F. E. Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (Manchester, 1952), pp. 13, n. 2, 222. Indeed, the holiness of altar and throne is apparently reflected in the word "gifstol," which has the meaning of both places; cf. Arthur E. Dubois, "Gifstol," Modern Language Notes, LXIX (1954), pp. 546–549.

WISDOM ABOUT TOMORROW

MATTHEW vi.34: *μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον, ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς· ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς.*

That a new *richesse* of comparative material is offered by Walter Bauer's fifth edition of his celebrated Wörterbuch (Berlin, 1958) is exemplified by his article on *αὔριον*. He notes that Epictetus too rejects care *περὶ τῆς αὔριον*. Indeed a sentence in Epictetus I.9.8 (*καὶ πόθεν φάγω, φησίν, μηδὲν ἔχων*) is in one respect an obvious parallel to Matthew vi.25 (*μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν, τί φάγητε ἢ τί πίητε·*). Bauer cites an interesting instance of a Pythagorean exhortation which, in a manner exactly opposite to the injunction of Matthew vi.34, advises one to be constantly thinking of the morrow: *διδάσκει ἀεί τι τοῦ παρόντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τῆς αὔριον ἐν τῇ σήμερον μνημονεύειν.*

In general, however, the approach to the subject by classical writers seems to be in agreement with the Matthaean precept, although the temper varies from the Stoic realism of Seneca (Ep. III.3: "quid enim necesse est mala accersere et satis cito patienda cum venerint, praesumere ac praesens tempus futuri metu perdere?") to Horace's Epicurean hedonism[1] (Carm. I.xi.8: "carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero," cf. Carm. I.ix.13: "quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere") or Martial's playful insistence that today is the time for living (Epigr. V. lviii.2: "dic mihi, cras istud, Postume, quando venit?").

But the purpose of the present note is to draw attention to a parallel in a newly published Egyptian text which occurs on an ostracon dated tentatively to the early part of Rameses II's reign (1301 B.C. or thereafter). The text is in hieratic and has been published by Černý and Gardiner in the first volume of their Hieratic Ostraca (Oxford, 1957), Pls. I and IA (with hieroglyphic transcription). In all, the ostracon contains nearly twenty moral maxims, and Sir Alan Gardiner has published a translation of them in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 54 (1957: Festschrift Hermann Junker), 43–45. The following is his version of Recto 1 and Verso 5:

> Prepare not thyself on this day for tomorrow ere it be come, is not (?) yesterday like today upon the hands of God?
>
> Meditate not plans for the morrow; it has not yet come today until tomorrow comes.

[1] Cf. M.-J. Lagrange's summary of Weiss's view of the saying in Matthew: "J. Weiss y voit une saine et fraîche joie de vivre" (Lagrange, 7th ed., Paris, 1948, p. 143).

It will be noted that Sir Alan queries his version of the second sentence of Recto 1. Instead of being interrogative, this may well be a negative statement: "Yesterday is not like today in the hands of God"; i.e., yesterday can no longer be changed, and today alone is open to God's favor, since tomorrow has not yet come. Whichever interpretation be accepted, it will be seen that the opening sentence in each maxim is very similar to the first part of Matthew vi.34.

The immediate source of both parts of the Matthaean saying is probably in Jewish proverbial lore. Strack-Billerbeck, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch (München, 1922), 441 quote Sanh. 100b Soncino, ed. ("Fret not over tomorrow's trouble, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth,[2] and peradventure tomorrow he is no more: thus he shall be found grieving over a world that is not."); to illustrate the second part they quote Berakh. 9b, Soncino, ed. ("He [Moses] said to him: Lord of the Universe, sufficient is the evil in the time thereof.").[3] Philip A. Micklem in his "Westminster Commentary" (London, 1917) cites, as other instances of the use of popular sayings by Jesus,[4] Matthew ix.12; xiii.57; Luke iv.23.

It may be suggested, however, that the ultimate source of the first part of the Matthaean saying is the wisdom of Egypt. In addition to the two Egyptian maxims quoted, the following must be borne in mind:

> One knows not what may happen, that he may understand the morrow.[5]
> Instruction of Ptah-hotep, 340 = P. Prisse 11, 2.

> Put tomorrow clearly before us! What is in it is not known.
> Kairo WB Nr. 49⟨58⟩ = Wb. Belegst. V, 423 (1), a statue of Dyn. 22.

> Do not spend the night in fear of the morrow. At dawn what is the morrow like? One knows not what the morrow is like.
> Instruction of Amenemope, xix, 11–13.[6]

> Do not prepare for tomorrow before it is come. One knows not what evil may be in it.
> The Eloquent Peasant, 183.[7]

[2] Cf. Prov. xxvii. 1: "Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

[3] Cf. the commentaries of W. C. Allen (Edinburgh, 1907), A. Carr (Cambridge, 1913), and A. H. McNeile (London, 1915).

[4] Less likely is the suggestion of A. Plummer (London, 1909): "It may be the Evangelist's own comment. . . ."

[5] Cf. John A. Wilson's translation in J. B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts (2nd ed., Princeton, 1955), 413; also Erman-Blackman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians (London, 1927), 61. Gunn's interpretation in his The Instruction of Ptah-hotep (The Wisdom of the East, London, 1918), 51 is different, but he did not himself adhere to all details of this early work of his, as he made clear in his classes at Oxford.

[6] Cf. Wilson in Pritchard, op. cit. 423.

[7] Cf. Vogelsang's ed. p. 146 and Gardiner in JEA 9 (1923), 14, where, however, the proverbial nature of the saying does not seem to be recognized.

It is noteworthy that the last quotation, with its mention of the "evil" attaching to a day,[8] contains a parallel to the second part of Matthew vi.34 as well as to the first. The Eloquent Peasant is a Middle Kingdom text (20th–18th centuries B.C.) and there seems no cause for hesitation in seeing here a further instance of Egyptian influence on the gnomic literature of the Hebrews.[9]

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[8] For this thoroughly Egyptian idea cf. the Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days.

[9] Some have argued that in the case of Amenemope the converse is true: see R. O. Kevin, "The Wisdom of Amen-em-apt and its possible dependence upon the Hebrew book of Proverbs" in JSOR 14 (1930), 115–157; J. M. McGlinchey, The Teaching of Amen-em-ope and The Book of Proverbs (Diss. Washington, 1939); cf. E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, V (New York, 1956), 189. This view does not affect the conclusion reached above, but the fact that Amenemope in our instance echoes the much earlier Eloquent Peasant shows that the attempt to give a late origin to the content of Amenemope may not be entirely well advised.

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